

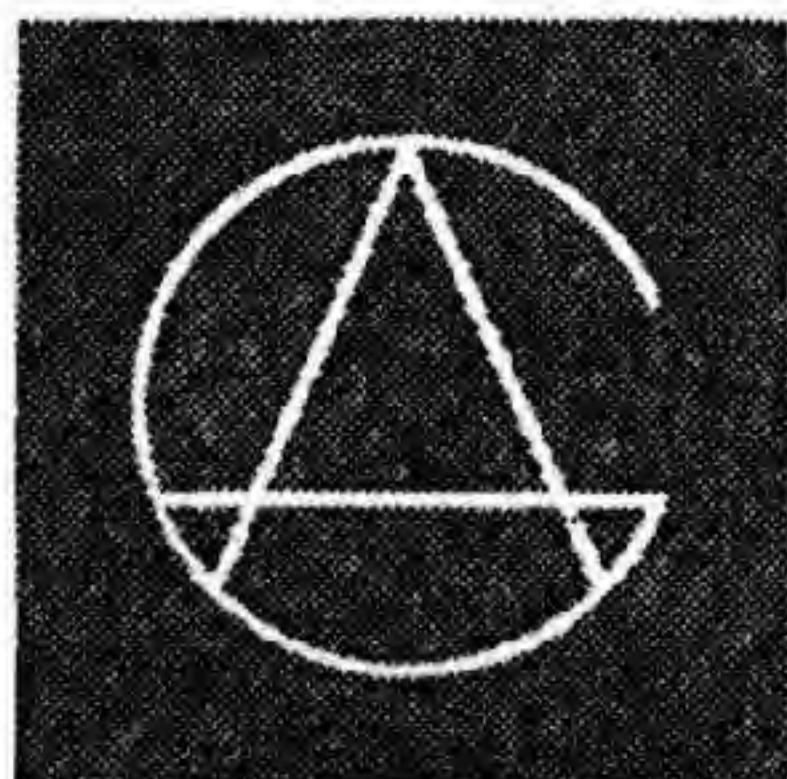


THE PEOPLE DON'T KNOW

**Today—Tomorrow
Iron, Blood and Profits
Sawdust Caesar
Freedom of the Press
Lords of the Press
You Can't Do That
The Catholic Crisis
Witch Hunt
The Facts Are
Facts & Fascism
1000 Americans**

GEORGE SELDES

The American Press
and the Cold War



GAER ASSOCIATES NEW YORK

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Designed by Ben Raeburn

11-19-53

To HELEN LARKIN SELDES
who shared the journey
and the job

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INTRODUCTION

“TRUTH IS THE FIRST CASUALTY”

In time of war no one expects honest news; falsehood in fact becomes a mighty weapon and is always used by all parties in the conflict. As Lord Ponsonby wrote (or quoted) many years ago: “When war is declared, Truth is the first casualty.”

It is my purpose to explore the situation in the world today, a world without peace and yet not at war, and to illustrate and document my findings in detail. My conclusion, as the following chapters hope to show, is that when a cold war is declared, Truth is also the first casualty.

In a time of tranquillity—and dealing almost exclusively with the situation at home—the Commission on Freedom of the Press, in a tremendous indictment of our newspapers, held that “they can debase and vulgarize mankind. They can endanger the peace of the world.”

It is my purpose to show the part the powerful means of mass communication, and most notably the press, have played during the last war years themselves, and more recently, how they are endangering good relations and perhaps the peace of the world.

Since it is common knowledge that in a democracy such as the United States public opinion is the real ruler, it should

follow that the public must be honestly informed. It is also an obvious fact that there are now two worlds instead of one, and that they are preparing for a Third World War, and that despite all the peace meetings of the heads of nations and the Secretaries of State, the cold war which was first proclaimed by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, continues to rage.

The purpose of my recent trip to nine countries of Europe was to find out if American public opinion regarding our potential allies and enemies was being manipulated, distorted, channeled, and otherwise directed in our press. It did not surprise me to find that this was so. The American people, who are not well informed about American affairs, have never been well informed about world affairs, and in this dangerous era of half-war, or a political war which may be the forerunner of armed war, the front pages of our newspapers are filled with war scares, with great falsehoods, with half-truths, with more bias and hate and corrupt headlines than at any time in history. In cold-war time as in all other times, the press does not serve the needs of the American people, as the Commission concluded in its report. The people don't know what is happening.

Misinformed America

If it surprises and perhaps angers a certain type of reader to hear it said that America is one of the most misinformed countries in the civilized world—paradoxically with one of the freest presses in the world—I would like to call three or four of the thousands of most reliable witnesses, living and dead, to confirm the indictment.

"An amazing state of public misinformation exists in the United States," President Franklin D. Roosevelt said at one of his press conferences, and on this rare occasion permitted the Washington correspondents to quote him directly.

"While we Americans have more formal schooling than the people of any other nation we are—in terms of this schooling—the least well informed," Dr. George Gallup

wrote recently, while one of his nonpolitical and nonlabor polls, which can be relied upon without qualification, reported that two per cent of the people of our country do not know the name of our President.

Editor Louis B. Seltzer of the *Cleveland Press* said in a public address that the United States is "a nation of economic illiterates," and the noted author, Sir Norman Angell, one of the best informed of men, wrote in the *New Republic* on June 2, 1941, that "with our vast and complicated paraphernalia of making things known, for telling the world the news, the world somehow manages to miss just the news that is often of the most vital significance, with direct bearing upon today's policy; indispensable to life-and-death decisions; news which relates, not to matters of opinion and controversy, but to actual events."

Thomas F. Ogilvie, one of the many honest editors of our small weeklies, is more brutally severe. He says in his *Jersey Times* (February 26, 1949):

Contrary to the belief of most people, Americans are the most misinformed people in the world. The unceasing daily flow of half-truths, distortions, slanted news stories, and downright lies from the big-business controlled press and radio does not enlighten. It serves only to confuse and befuddle; foments unreasoning hysteria; spreads baseless prejudices.

The existence of such a system of mis-information makes America fertile ground for home-bred fascism and home-grown totalitarianism.

Until America develops an educational system that teaches citizens to spot the phony columnists and commentators, and not to parrot the propaganda they read and hear, the people cannot be truly educated. Without the light of truth, wise and proper decisions are impossible. The shame of America is that Americans, despite all their technological marvels, know more things that are not true than any other people on earth.

The American people "know more things that are not true than any other people on earth." They know more about the Eastern bloc (against which their minds are being conditioned for war), about the Marshall Plan, and about subjects

which fill more columns of the daily press and more pages in magazines and more quarter-hours of radio than do the people of Britain, or France or Poland or Yugoslavia, but a great part of what they have learned from these sources is simply not true.

I do not have to emphasize the point that if this news from Europe is not honestly presented to the American people—and if the news from America is not honestly presented to the European people—then the danger of war will be increased, and the Third World War, toward which we are apparently racing, will not only end the lives of most of us but will also destroy most of our civilization. Instead of "One World" there may be "No World."

In this tense age all the people of all the nations ought to be well informed at least about the most vital topics which affect their daily lives—and their possible deaths; they should know first of all the moves—political, military and journalistic—toward war or peace, so that public opinion and not the controllers of public opinion can decide the destiny of all human beings.

Old Truths, New Falsehoods

Before I present to the reader some examples and documentation on every sort of bias, propaganda, and falsehood which have marked the years of the cold war, I would like to recall some of the old truths which must serve as a test of our present-day news. We are supposed to learn from history.

In the now-it-can-be-told days which followed the first great war the public was told the truth about many things, and in the Nye-Vandenburg Committee investigation of the munitions makers, the "merchants of death," there were some more terrible disclosures. But all the documents and all the press reports and all the books did not equal in importance the simple 1919 summation made by President Wilson "that the seed of war in the modern world is indus-

trial and commercial rivalry" (*Congressional Record*, September 8, 1919, page 5006; *One Thousand Americans*, page 265). Certain things then were declared to be self-evident truths, or axioms; the Clausewitz dicta were reaffirmed; the munitions investigators affirmed that war preparations inevitably led to war and that a "hypertrophied" munitions industry itself—to use the Wellsian phrase—had within it the making of wars.

The axiom—"si vis pacem, para bellum,"—ancient as Rome itself but credited by most Americans to George Washington, lost considerable face in the mid-1930's, and it was then recalled that the Father of his Country, at a time when military systems were still of little importance, had also uttered the warning that "overgrown military establishments are under any form of government inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."

It was found that war preparations by any nation are, or must be, made with one certain nation in mind. It would be stupid merely to arm; one arms against a potential enemy.

It was found, published, and accepted as a profound fact the world over, that there is no such thing as a defensive war, or defensive preparations. The American investigation and all the League of Nations reports which followed agreed on a new axiom: armament races inevitably lead to war.

The world is now engaged in the greatest armament race in history.

In America this race began shortly after Winston Churchill guardedly proclaimed a holy crusade of the Western nations against Soviet Russia and her allies. In this speech Mr. Churchill stooped so low as to use as his own one of the chief Nazi propaganda weapons of 1941, the phrase "the iron curtain," which he now applied to all the Eastern European nations. The Churchill Doctrine (later called the Truman Doctrine) was nothing more or less than Hitler's 1936 plan known as the "Anti-Komintern Pakt"—the alli-

ance of Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Austria, and other fascist nations.

War preparations began with the making of public opinion via propaganda.

The headlines of June 26, 1947, first mentioned the "cold war" and credited the phrase to Bernard M. Baruch, one of the most powerful behind-the-scenes figures in American political life. In September of that year, America's most influential columnist, Walter Lippmann, produced a series of articles entitled "The Cold War." But in truth both Baruch and Lippmann were merely paraphrasing, or condensing into a headline, the great and terrible axiom first stated by Clausewitz, that war—bloody and murderous war—was nothing more than politics—politics pursued along a different line. Clausewitz wrote:

War is only a part of political intercourse, therefore by no means an independent thing in itself.

We know, certainly, that War is only called forth through political intercourse of Governments and Nations; but in general it is supposed that such intercourse is broken off by War and that a totally different state of being ensues, subject to no laws but its own.

We maintain, on the contrary, that War is nothing but a continuation of political intercourse, with a mixture of other means. . .

Accordingly, War can never be separated from political intercourse. . .

In naming the three objectives of war Clausewitz placed the destruction of the armed power of the enemy first, taking "possession of his material and other sources of his strength" second, and "to win public opinion" third.

In the making of war today—especially by a democracy such as ours—the winning of public opinion, while perhaps not one of the chief objectives of war itself, is certainly among the first, if not the very first, objective of the cold war period.

No democracy can rely upon the sinking of a *Lusitania* or, to name the most recent and the most overwhelming episode of all, the unprovoked attack on Pearl Harbor, to change,

vitalize, unify, and turn the minds of millions into one and only one will: to have revenge by waging war.

In both instances America was the victim of a foreign aggressor. No patriot doubts that America was right. But today, when there is talk in the press and in Congress of a "preventive" war—which means nothing less than an attack (justified or not) initiated by ourselves, then the necessity to manufacture public opinion—a slow process here as compared to an act of galvanism as of December 7, 1941—may become first in the list of pre-attack objectives.

The Important "News"

Much of this introduction, and much of the evidence which follows, deals with war preparations, war propaganda, war talk, the conditioning of the American people for World War III, because this is the most important subject in the world today: it is as important to you and to me as life or death is important.

Every one of us ought to know, not what the State Department and the military and the daily newspapers want us to know about the next war, but the whole truth, if possible; we should know at least what all nations involved in this potential war, the East and the West, the so-called allies and the so-called enemies, feel and think and say and do about this proposed war. It is the most important "news" of the time, and in light of the indictment of the Commission on Freedom of the Press of our instruments of mass communication as a potential means of endangering the peace of the world, I determined to ask every leader in every country I visited the European attitude toward a war in which America would be the most powerful participant. Actually I brought with me to Europe hundreds of news items of what I thought were the most important questions of the day, on which the American people were woefully misinformed, and I checked on their fairness and truthfulness. These questions concerned:

1. World War III: Will Europe fight? Will the labor unions endorse war? Has America any reliable allies?

2. The Marshall Plan: Is it successful; is it making friends or enemies; is it a plan for peace or war?

3. Land Reform: the most important social change in Europe.

4. Planned Economy: Is it successful in Britain; in the Eastern nations; is it challenging American capitalism?

5. The Vatican: its emergence as one of the greatest political powers in European affairs—and therefore in American affairs.

6. Public Opinion: Propaganda, Falsehood in the press, Misinformation of people everywhere as a danger to the peace of the world.

Although these are six distinct subjects, they nevertheless center on or are correlative to the first.

We live in desperate times. Science, and especially atomic and bacteriological warfare science, has changed everything for better or worse, and a blunder can now endanger the future of all living beings.

At no time in the history of the modern world has there been a rush toward war with so little realization by the people who must fight and die, of the issues, the commitments, the manipulation of the minds of the millions by the few men and agencies which have the means and power to do so.

We must not wait for war when falsehood becomes a more common practice and is regarded as a virtue.

GEORGE SELDES

PART ONE

Peace or World War III?

CHAPTER ONE

JOURNEY IN SEARCH OF FACTS

Both Thomas Jefferson a century and a half ago and Franklin Delano Roosevelt in our own time blamed the American press for the amazing state of misinformation of the American people.

Jefferson's disillusion was the more profound. Believing as he did in an enlightened citizenry, he wrote in 1787: "The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

There was a truly free press in colonial times. A man with about fifty dollars could buy some type and print a paper. Many did. All sorts and varieties of opinions were expressed in those days. But then as now, the reactionaries were in the majority and their newspapers conducted so vile a campaign against the liberal Jefferson that in 1807 he wrote this final verdict on the press:

"Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in a situation to confront

facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day. . . The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them."

Jefferson's "state of misinformation" of the American people has now been succeeded by Roosevelt's "amazing state of public misinformation," and the Jeffersonian strictures have been brought up to date by the Commission on Freedom of the Press, but unfortunately this organization, which had in its possession the facts and the documents, published only generalities. True and damning as they were, they did not name the great original sources of misinformation of the American people.

Take, for example, this one simple fact: of the three news agencies which supply all the newspapers and most radio stations in the United States and many in Canada, South America and Europe, one is a noncommercial cooperative, but the other two are privately conducted money-making enterprises whose owners for years have fought all liberal, democratic legislation "to promote the general welfare" of the American people. The news as issued by all the agencies of mass communication owned by these men reflects their anti-social views.

On the masthead of each of the nineteen papers controlled by Press Lord Roy Howard appears this slogan placed there years ago by a great publisher, Edward Wyllis Scripps: "Give light and the people will find their own way."

And yet, of Lord Howard's chief and most powerful means of giving light—or even plain facts—namely the UP service, President Roosevelt said: "The United Press has been guilty of a falsification of the actual facts. . . It represents a culmination of other false news stories to which the attention of the United Press has been called." For the text, see Appendix.

The other powerful machine for influencing the American people—for better or worse—is controlled by Press Lord William Randolph Hearst and consists of nineteen papers in

fourteen cities, the *American Weekly* (a supplement sold by the millions to other newspapers), *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping* magazines, a drug trade publication, and the International News Service, which is used around the world.

The first exposé of Hearst was made by *Harper's Weekly* which featured on its front page in its issue of May 16, 1914 the startling words: "HEARST—LIAR."

For three decades the responsible newspaper press, crusading magazines, many educators and historians (including Charles A. Beard) and several presidents have united in public statements charging Hearst with giving falsehoods instead of facts to the American people. Among the latest to join in this action is President Truman who in his vice-presidential campaign on October 26, 1944, stated for publication: "That's just another Hearst lie."

The Hearst slogan, which appears on the editorial page (together with a Biblical quotation Hearst gets daily from preachers of all denominations) is: TRUTH, JUSTICE, PUBLIC SERVICE.

Lord Howard's newspapers and news services do not give light for the people to find their own way; on the contrary Howard is responsible for a vast amount of bias and propaganda and distortion and, on the word of the late President Roosevelt, considerable falsehood.

Lord Hearst's falsehoods have been made the subject of several large books. Any test by an agency such as the Institute for Propaganda Analysis or the Commission on Freedom of the Press would establish it as a fact that there is more misinformation and propaganda in the Hearst output than in any other chain or syndicate.

These two vast journalistic enterprises are responsible for conditioning the thinking—and therefore the action—of a large part of the American people.

Another of the nation's most powerful combinations is the Medill Trust press which owns the largest newspaper in America (the *New York Daily News*), the largest standard

newspaper (the *Chicago Tribune*), and the Chicago Tribune Press Service which syndicates news to many other papers. The public which reads the output of this group has been influenced in the past by propaganda favoring Hitler in Europe, Japan over China in Asia, and the Ku Klux Klan at home. (The *Tribune*, which carried a page ad for the KKK, replied to readers' protests with an editorial endorsement April 27, 1921.)

Hearst, Howard, McCormick, and the Patterson heirs through their newspapers and their news services are among the greatest manufacturers of public opinion in America. Without exception they are reactionaries—and Hearst has been the publisher of hundreds of items of Nazi and Italian fascist propaganda and has always been a propagandist for Franco. Without exception the journalistic material put out by these few men is not pure news—let alone the whole truth; it bears the imprint of owner in the very same way the Nazi press from 1933 to 1945 bore the imprint of Dr. Goebbels. Prejudices, emotions, bias, hatreds, desire for war or for isolationism, are deeply stirred by the editorial policies in that powerful segment of the American press owned or controlled by these men.

In the multimillion circulation magazine field we have *Time's* Henry Luce and the *Saturday Evening Post's* Walter D. Fuller (also of the National Association of Manufacturers) and "the national weekly" *Collier's* with a J. P. Morgan Co. directorate, just as busily and thoroughly implanting editorial views into the American mind in the guise of thoughtful news articles.

And hundreds of lesser press lords, all of them engaged in making "the opinion of our people" which before and after Jefferson's time has always been "the basis of our government."

So the public is misinformed. The people don't know. And the times are tense, because war again threatens and only a well-informed public opinion can be a force for peace.

An Illustration

It is one thing to suppress the news or misinform the public about the public utilities—or the merchants of death—or the 200 ruling families—or similar subjects, all of which have been brought to light through great Congressional investigations in which incidentally the American press, hundreds of newspapers and magazines, have been named and their corruption deplored.

It is quite another thing to misinform the public nowadays about world events, about our “friends” and our “enemies” in Europe, because misinformation spread for the purpose of inflaming mass passions is a vital factor in warmaking.

It is not necessary to illustrate this point with the general news coverage or specific instances concerning Russia. The press enlisted in the cold war against that nation long before the idea was invented and became a policy of the State Department. In a cold war, news is not fair news. Even the lay reader knows this.

But the American press is also engaged in planting hatred in the minds of the American people against many other countries, and especially against the Eastern nations which it calls Russia's satellites. For example:

Waiting in Zagreb many days for a promised interview with Marshal Tito I had plenty of time to spend on things of secondary importance. The local representative of the *Direkcija za Informacije* suggested that I visit the national motion picture establishment for a special showing of Yugoslav films. I wasn't particularly interested but I could not refuse.

First there was a documentary on the rebuilding of factories and bridges destroyed by the Nazis.

Then there was a historical film on life among the peasants of Macedonia, very beautifully photographed but not of any news value.

Finally, I was asked if I cared to see an older film called *The Trial of Archbishop Stepinac*, a documentary record of

an event already told at great length in the daily press and fought over for a long time.

It began with scenes of the invasion of Yugoslavia. Then the court room was shown as a group accused of treason entered, each prisoner preceded and followed by a militiaman. The taking of evidence began.

Archbishop Stepinac stood up. Under oath he testified that he had never collaborated with the Nazis and never aided the Ustashi or the notorious traitor leader Ante Pavelich.

At this moment the film was interrupted to introduce actual German newsreels of 1940 to 1944 captured by the Allied troops and Partisans. The German army was shown marching into Yugoslavia, as it had marched into other countries, with the arrogance of world conquerors.

Another reel showed the collaborators, the traitors to their country, meeting with the Nazis, officers appearing in uniform with them in the rule of occupied territory, and civilian traitors in the parliament set up by the Germans.

Finally, a third captured Nazi newsreel devoted entirely to the treason of Archbishop Stepinac. There he was exchanging greetings with the Nazi generals, planning with them, dressed in his Sunday clothes to sprinkle holy water on Nazi troops and the forces of the traitor Pavelich, collaborating with Pavelich himself, and finally appearing in the field to give his blessing to the invaders of his own country.

This was treason, documentarily proved.

It was one of the most shocking things I had ever seen in my journalistic forty years. It was as if a motion picture man had been present when the money was handed over to Benedict Arnold.

I asked the movie people and the newspaper man representing the Direkcija if the film had been shown in America. They laughed. "After that campaign of falsehood about Stepinac, do you think it would be possible to show this film anywhere in the United States outside our own embassy or consulates?" the journalist asked.

When I got back to Belgrade, two months later, for my

interview with Tito, I talked as I did in all capitals with the resident American, British, and French foreign correspondents (most of whom I found doing an honest job) about the misinformation about Europe which exists in America (and to a smaller extent in Britain and on the Continent). I wanted to know why the resident correspondent could not get the facts before the public. The answers I got were hardly satisfactory.

But a most revealing confession was made to me by one of the assistants in the Belgrade office of a great American news service the day I was leaving Yugoslavia. We had met during the Danube Conference, but now on the Orient Express we had time to discuss the press an entire day. I had said I had been surprised by everything I saw behind the so-called iron curtain and shocked when comparing it with the news as published and the impressions created by the newspapers. My friend then made this amazing statement: "We can't write the news straight from Yugoslavia; we have to wrap it up."

This phrase, "wrap it up," was new to me. I asked how news was wrapped.

"I will give you two examples," my colleague said. "The biggest news stories from here between the end of the war and the Cominform attack on Tito were the trials of Mikhailovich and Stepinac.

"Mikhailovich was a traitor. He started out as a patriot but in the end sided with the Nazis and Italians and massacred thousands of Yugoslav fighters. Not one foreign journalist doubted he was guilty of treason. His confessions and admissions were enough to hang him.

"But we did not report the news that way. At the very beginning the pressure from American papers began. We correspondents at the trial were instructed how to report it. Cables arrived daily saying the newspapers protested we favored the government, we were not fair to Mikhailovich. We were told to change the tone of our cables. We were told to slant the news for Mikhailovich.

"When those of us in the Belgrade office protested we did not want to do a crooked job, someone suggested that we wrap it up; write it so it gets by the American papers. And so we wrapped it up.

"I can't imagine where the pressure came from for Mikhailovich but it was terrific. It was even worse with Stepinac because he was the best-known priest in the country, and you know how powerful the Catholic pressure group is. We simply could not report the real testimony without getting a tremendous kickback from America. I suppose the papers back home were scared by the pressure.

"There also was no doubt about Archbishop Stepinac being a traitor."

At this point I mentioned seeing the movies, which were proof enough.

"Apparently it is impossible for people in America," continued my colleague, "to believe that in Europe, especially in Yugoslavia, preachers of all sects participated not only in politics but in the war. There were priests on Tito's side, priests on Mikhailovich's side, and priests on Pavelich's side. (Pavelich is the No. 1 traitor of Yugoslavia; he was harbored in Austria by the Anglo-American authorities, later found refuge in Italy; the Allies refuse to deliver him for trial.) There were liberal, democratic, Nazi and fascist priests, and those who were on the Partisan side won out; those who worked with the Nazis were traitors.

"The evidence was clear, Stepinac could not deny his written and printed documents and of course the Nazi newsreels. But we who reported the trial could not tell the truth as it was. We wrapped it up."

Misinformation on Great Events

Not only the Mikhailovich and Stepinac trials, but many other news items from Yugoslavia had to be wrapped up by a news service whose duty it is to report the facts without fear or prejudice. And the same proved true from other Eastern

nations. The owners, editors, and publishers of the majority of American newspapers are frankly inimical to what they call the "Soviet satellites" and they do not as a rule have to exert pressure or give orders to have the news made inimical to these countries. This is one of the most important facts the present writer learned on this journey to Europe.

Once the reader understands this, it will be easier to understand the reporting of the American press on the six major subjects mentioned in the introduction to this volume and documented in the following chapters.

On only one of these subjects can it be said that there is a lack of coverage because of a lack of reader interest: That is land for the landless. It is in reality one of the greatest revolutionary changes in the world's history, but because it may be difficult for the American farmer (and city dweller) or because the editors of our press think it is difficult for the average reader to understand the meaning of the news, it has not been adequately told. At any rate it is the great story that has not been told.

I must admit that in the seventeen years in which I was a foreign correspondent I paid no attention to this problem. After the First World War it was not seemingly as important as it is today. It is a more vital problem now because all the new nations, the Eastern nations and the Russian zone of Germany, have put through agrarian reform, and agrarian reform was the most important among the causes of the civil war in China which ended with a victory of the landless peasantry.

I can understand the American journalist not rushing to a cable office in Hungary or Yugoslavia with the amazing news that land was being taken from the dukes and counts and given the former hired hands. I can also understand why the foreign correspondent is not sending out the news of the vast political enterprise of the Vatican.

In the first instance, his editor knows little or nothing about the subject and it simply is not NEWS as we define that word; in the second instance, it is the old rule of suppression

of all items classified as "religious controversy" and considered the most sacred of all the golden calves and golden bulls of American journalism.

The Vatican State is just as deeply in European politics as say the Republican party at home. Or, if that is not an apt comparison, then we can say the Democratic party. The Vatican State is in politics, and it is one of the great powers of the world; nevertheless the American press does not treat it as a political force completely divorced from religion. It has never told the truth about the Church in European politics, and probably never will.

As for the planned economies of the new Eastern nations this can be said: if it is fair to write (as I believe the facts warrant) that it is ignorance (the publisher's or the reader's or both) which keeps our press from dealing with the world-shaking land reforms, and fear which keeps it from telling the story of the Vatican in politics, then it must be nothing but malicious bias and not an inability of our fearless roving correspondents to penetrate the "iron curtain," which prevents the telling of the Eastern story. Telling it honestly, I mean.

Nor has the story of the Marshall Plan in Europe been told fairly and honestly, although it must be said that it has been told fully, if by that we mean millions of words.

On this subject, as on most others, the American press—or most of it—has been committed from the moment it was proposed. Even the isolationist newspapers, notably the McCormick-Patterson press, which opposes the recovery program favored by its colleagues, joins the latter in prejudiced reporting, although from a different angle.

The reports from Europe are almost always favorable to the Marshall Plan. No correspondent with whom I talked regarded it as a humanitarian act, and this is the important thing about it. Almost everyone approved it, but not for its sweet charity. Paraphrasing Clausewitz, they agreed it was policy carried on with other weapons. I was told by each man I interviewed that he had cabled the news and facts about the

failure or success of the plan, its reception by governments, perhaps even by organized labor, and especially its relation to plans for a future war and its value in the making of allies for that war.

However, great newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune* are not only editorially committed, they have published twenty or thirty or fifty page special supplements (replete with advertising at thousands of dollars a page, some paid for by foreign governments) in praise of the Marshall Plan, whose goodness and greatness was surpassed only by the Sermon on the Mount—and not by far. Under such circumstances it is useless for European correspondents to do anything but join the heavenly chorus. But a voyage of inquiry in the Western nations shows that the Marshall Plan and its workings is not what the American press writes about it. (A full documentation will appear in the third section of this book.)

And yet every American family head is paying \$113 (*New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1949) for the Marshall Plan and should be entitled to know what is being done with his money. He should know exactly what his money is being used for; whether it is being used for economic rehabilitation and stability or for the politics of a cold war, and therefore the politics of a future war.

Misinformation on War

The life-or-death subject about which people are misinformed is World War III. The entire American press is united in a vast propaganda campaign creating the enemy for this war, naming allies, justifying every action on the Western side, denouncing every action on the Eastern side—but not telling the news of the West or the East, the honest news which might even prevent war. (I will document this statement by proven instances of war scares, war fakery, and other warlike activities of the press.)

When I first passed through Paris in July, 1948, it seemed

to me that I was the only one who mentioned war. Neither in London nor Paris did the press engage in warmongering, or even in war-mentioning. High British government officials and the leading members of Parliament whom I interviewed deplored the war hysteria in the United States—which they blamed largely on our newspapers—and it was the same in France.

But, six months later, on my way back from my second trip to the East I found not only the newspapers of Paris but the people I met talking about war.

What had happened in the intervening months?

The best answer was given me by Michel Gordey of *France-Soir*, a leading conservative newspaper. He said: with the convening of the United Nations in Paris the city was overrun with American diplomats and American journalists speaking about war, questioning everyone about war and actually spreading the fear of war. They came on a mission of peace and they engaged in war talk. It was deliberate, planned; at any rate it had its effect. War fever spread throughout Europe in the Autumn of 1948, and its source was the United Nations session.

When I say that the people of Europe do not want war I mean that they would rather fight to stay out of war. I have actually heard people—heads of labor unions, members of Parliament—say that they and others would oppose with guns that nation which provoked war and which invaded their country, they would fight against the East or against the West, against the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., whichever side they thought guilty.

The speakers for the millions, the heads of the labor unions like the CGT in France and the CGIL in Italy—and I mean the non-communist heads, because we all know where the communists stand, agree on these points:

They are opposed to war;

They are opposed to the present armaments race which they regard as the highroad to war;

If war comes between East and West, between the United

States and its European allies against Russia and its Eastern allies, the labor unions will not only not participate, but they will do one of these three things: declare a general strike; do nothing—by which they mean refuse to work, or go on a nationwide sitdown; or oppose the war by force. According to Konni Zilliacus, then a left leader of the British Labour Party, there will be a revolution in England rather than participation in World War III.

I don't know what the Luxembourgeois will do about the next war, but I am certain that the British, Italian, French, and Belgian labor unions who represent the majority of the people, will by one means or another oppose that war, and no official pledge, no treaty, no Western Alliance, no North Atlantic Pact, no Marshall Plan, nothing that the official governments can do is going to alter that determination. The Europeans won't fight.

This is a harsh fact but it should be recognized.

We have some friends in Europe, but we haven't any Allies.

Many people thank America for the Marshall Plan—but no one I met, except for a high official at 10 Downing Street who spoke for the government, thought the Marshall Plan was Santa Claus in disguise. Most everyone thought it was Mars in disguise.

The Marshall Plan has increased rather than decreased the fear of war in Europe among ordinary people. European people are realists; they all know they will have to pay somehow, and they fear that the payment will mean becoming an ally in the planned World War III.

The only people who want this war are certain Western Germans who believe theirs will be the only nation which will profit from it.

France, Britain, Italy, Belgium do not want to be overrun by either the American or the Russian armies; they simply do not want to be overrun. They certainly do not want to be bombed, either with the 30-lb atom bomb or the old-

fashioned 10-ton bombs, by either the Western or the Eastern air force. They simply do not want to be bombed.

The Voice of America tells them every day that the Russians are the aggressors, and the Voice of Moscow tells them every day that the Americans are the aggressors. I do not think either propaganda has much effect: all of Europe—non-communist as well as communist—has already decided that no matter who is the aggressor, it wants no participation in this war and will prevent participation—if the official party in power adheres to an Atlantic Pact—by sitdowns, general strikes, even revolutions.

I think all these statements are true, factual, and completely documented. I think these are some of the great truths which foreign correspondents acknowledge but which the American press does not give the American people. I shall return to this subject after the presentation of some illustrative samples of the evidence of straight news fakery, and the underworld of news, the half-truth, which is a more powerful weapon in the present journalistic cold war.

CHAPTER TWO

FAKING THE NEWS

Although the Commission on Freedom of the Press was not intimidated by the genteel fakirs who shudder at the use of the word "lie," and did speak of "a lying, venal and scoundrelly public expression" finding shelter under freedom of the press, it unfortunately did not document the charge or illustrate it.

So far as Europe is concerned, and especially the new Eastern nations, and of course Soviet Russia, it would require not one whole volume but three or ten to document even the most important instances of the American press faking the news. Inasmuch as the present writer did not have a visa for the U.S.S.R. the reports on that country will be few and deal with only those instances documented in the American press itself: the truth is sometimes late, if it appears at all.

The falsehoods printed in America concern Western Europe as well as the East. Some have been honest errors which have been corrected, but when that has been done in most instances the correction is buried, so that the effect of the lie remains in the mind of the reading public. Some have been malicious. The reactionary United States press, the majority of newspapers, is just as opposed to the mild reforms in

Britain as it is opposed to revolutionary changes in Poland. Here for example is the headline on the noted syndicated column by Mark Sullivan, February 7, 1947:

BRITAIN'S PLIGHT VIEWED AS SIGN
THAT SOCIALISM RETARDS OUTPUT

Contrast this with a few other headlines

BRITAIN'S COAL MINES SHOW PROFIT IN 1948
AP item, *Rome American*, July 20, 1948.

BRITISH STEEL WORKERS SET OUTPUT MARK
New York Times, April 12, 1948.

BRITISH PLAN HELD RECOVERY MODEL
New York Times, October 25, 1948.

Mr. Mark Sullivan (who in his youth was one of the great crusading journalists of what is now sneeringly known as "the muckraking era," an era in which injustice and corruption were exposed by honest journalists and in which the sense of public indignation was still a power because it had the support of honest magazines—if not many newspapers) has now become one of the most reactionary columnists following the extreme Bourbon line of the Republican party. Anything Marxist, anything say ten per cent socialistic, or anything liberal, or remotely tinged with the New Deal, both at home and abroad, is a fit subject for attack by Mr. Sullivan. When, as in this case, his views conflict with the facts there is no correction, no apology.

Here is another type of falsehood: the organ of the New York branch of the American Newspaper Guild, *Frontpage*, in its September-October 1947 issue republished two items from the same edition of the *Washington Star* of September 1:

EX-RED ARMY OFFICER SAYS SOVIET
LIQUIDATED ZHUKOV, ITS WAR HERO

by Eugene Tillinger
North American Newspaper Alliance

PARIS, Sept. 1.—Despite recent denials of rumors that Russia's Marshal George Zhukov has been condemned to

15 years forced labor, allegedly for spreading sedition in the Soviet Army, and despite the absence of direct data on his fate, there seems little doubt that the great Russian military hero of World War II has been liquidated. . .

ZHUKOV'S BULGARIAN VISIT AND MOVEMENT
OF RED TROOPS PORTEND GREECE ATTACK
by Constantine Brown

Frontpage called this sample of *Washington Star* journalism "a monstrous piece of fiddle-faddle" and suggested that an enterprising reporter interview Zhukov on "how it feels to be a liquidated general on tour. . . Whether he travels in a bottle (well corked) or in a shroud, or perhaps a crematory urn." *Frontpage* did not point out—as history alone could do later in the year—that although Mr. Brown in this instance gave the lie to another page of his own paper, his story of Russian troop movements which "portend Greece attack" was also far removed from the truth.

In his column of September 14, 1945, Westbrook Pegler wrote that "Laski's government took office to the tune of the Internationale, the anthem of the communist conspiracy." This is a false statement. The Labour Party took office to the tune of its old Socialist song, "The Red Flag"; it was then and has remained an enemy of the Communists, perhaps the most powerful enemy of the U.S.S.R. and the "Internationale" in all of Europe.

There was never an admission of error or a correction in Mr. Pegler's widely syndicated column.

Here is an admittedly fake story. It illustrates many of the charges against American journalism, teaches a few important lessons. The headlines in the *New York Times* (and similar ones in more than a thousand other papers) on November 2nd and 3rd, 1946, read respectively:

ALBANIANS SHELL BRITISH CRUISER,
HIT SUPERSTRUCTURE, OFFICERS SAY
ALBANIAN SHELLING OF BRITISH SHIP A MYTH,
CAPTAIN OF VESSEL DECLARES IN TRIESTE

The news under both these headings is from the United Press, one of the largest newsgathering agencies in the world, and chief rival of the cooperative Associated Press of America.

What is the source of the UP news? The item, datelined Trieste, states that "Albanian shore batteries opened fire on the 7,270-ton British cruiser *Leander* and damaged her with a direct hit on the superstructure, British officers reported early today when the ship put into Trieste for repairs.

"First accounts of the attack gave no details of the extent of the damage or casualties suffered. . .

"The attack came only 11 days after two British destroyers had run into mines. . .

"A similar attack was made on the British cruisers *Orion* and *Superb* last May when they were passing through Corfu strait. . .

"First accounts of the firing on the *Leander* gave neither the place nor the date of the attack. In view of recent events it was believed likely that the incident occurred while the warship was passing through the same strait. . ."

Only professional newspaper men would see the internal evidence of this story: that there was no evidence. It was a rumor dressed up with as much outside matter as possible, passed off as news.

In the retraction, however, there is reliable reporting. The Trieste correspondent of the UP begins by saying the captain of the *Leander* "today corrected reports by fellow officers. . . He said they had 'let their imaginations run away with them. No shots of any sort were directed at the ship. . .' A visit aboard the 7,270-ton cruiser by a United Press correspondent today showed no damage of any kind. . ."

A more honest report would have stated: "The story of the Albanian attack on a British ship was a fraud. The UP correspondent was hoaxed by some officers at a bar. The UP did not investigate; it flashed the barroom talk as honest news. The UP regrets the incalculable harm this fake has done to the Albanian Government." Of course no such correction has

ever been sent by any press service of any country in any similar situation.

There are four vital lessons to be learned from this episode:

1. The Albanian-shelling story appeared on the front page of the *Times*, with a 2-column bottom head, but other newspapers headlined it across the whole of their seven or eight columns. The correction the following day did not appear on the front page of the *Times*; and if it did appear on the front page of any newspaper it certainly carried no eye-filling headlines.

2. The correction was not carried by many newspapers which published the news sensationally. This is a common habit of the American press, one of its great faults. It simply will not print corrections unless a libel suit is threatened; and when it does print them it does not give them same space, same place, same headlines, as was stipulated by the laws of the Third French Republic, for example. The canons of journalism of course provide for honest corrections, but in this field as in many others, they thunder almost nowhere, being heard occasionally as merely the "pop" of a toy gun in city editorial rooms.

3. It is an illustration of the "scoop incentive" of American journalism. The UP is a commercial organization, it must please its customers or they will not pay good money for its services. One way to please the customers is to give them news the AP, a noncommercial service, does not supply. The "scoop" remains one of the measuring rods of success. Journalists representing individual papers also strive for scoops—some because it is required of them, others because they fear their value to their papers will lessen if they do not prove their worth in this way. The AP, faced with this activity of its rival, must retaliate in kind, and therefore the American journalism field—as distinguished from that of all other nations of the world—is dominated by the "scoop" psychology. And this means that in the rush to score a beat of a min-

ute or an hour there is no time for investigation, for confirmation, for getting the truth about the news.

4. It is an illustration of the irresponsibility of our newspapers, and irresponsibility is one of the chief items in the indictment drawn up by the Commission on Freedom of the Press.

It is true that many of the newspapers which had published falsehoods for the purpose of attacking the Soviets from 1917 onwards did let up for the few years duration of World War II, but among the notable exceptions was the McCormick-Patterson press which at one time had favored Germany and Japan and at all times had defamed Russia. A typical falsehood of these newspapers—*The New York Daily News*, *Chicago Tribune* and *Washington Times-Herald*—was a sensational story published July 19, 1944 under a large headline:

NUDE WELCOME SHOCKS AMERICAN PILOTS IN RUSSIA

By Howard Whitman

(Datelined) Eighth Army Air Base. . .

This was but the latest variation of the 1917 story of the "nationalization of women," a falsehood linking sex and immorality to the Soviet system. By "nude welcome" was meant women in brothels. It was just the type of news the sensational, yellow, and moronic tabloid *News* had been feeding its audience from the time it was started in 1919. It was also repeated in the allegedly "respectable" press. Ten days later the United States Government issued an official denial:

War Department.
Bureau of Public Relations.
29 July 1944

Memorandum for the Press:

In a recent news story in a New York daily paper, allegations were made that U. S. flyers arriving in Russia on shuttle bombing missions were approached by Russians with offers to provide women for their entertainment. The story also described brothels in the U.S.S.R.

The War Department investigated this story and has been informed by the head of the U. S. Army Mission in Moscow as follows:

1. There has been no instance where a responsible officer at any of our bases has been approached by a Soviet official relative to any arrangement for providing women for entertainment. As a matter of fact, the situation is to the contrary. A sincere effort to ban immorality is made by Soviet officials and in particular wherever our personnel are concerned.

2. No evidence is available of Red Army brothels in existence in Russia. On the other, or positive side, the Mission reports that our officers and men have been received with the utmost hospitality and courtesy by the Russian people and by the personnel of the Red Army. Both the people and officials have gone to great length to provide wholesome entertainment. As an instance, an open air theater has been provided wherein performances are staged by leading Russian artists.

This official statement was suppressed generally by the newspapers which had published slander and calumny.

One of the curiosities of this incident can be seen in the way certain newspapers published the paragraph in the Drew Pearson column of August 4, 1944 on this subject:

Dayton Daily News

The War Department issued a prompt, indignant denial of a New York Daily News story that our men in Russia were offered women. . .

New York Mirror

The War Department issued a prompt, indignant denial that our men in Russia were offered women. . .

The *Mirror* is a Hearst paper, and the Hearst press has been exposed by Congressional investigations, several Presidents, and honest journalists during the past fifty years; moreover the *Mirror* is the greatest rival for news and money of the *Daily News*, but in such matters as protecting themselves from exposure of falsehood or corruption the one always aids the other. The *Mirror* suppressed the name of the *News* in the Pearson column.

At the time of the publication of this falsehood the *News* had more than 2,000,000 daily circulation and about 4,000,000 on Sunday making it the biggest daily in America, and the *Chicago Tribune* with more than a million boasted the largest circulation of the standard-sized newspapers. It has

been said for many years that "nobody believes what the *Tribune* says" and that the readers of the *News* buy it for the comics and sports pages. However, all printed matter is to a certain extent effective: the "respectable" newspapers influence respectable people, and the disreputable newspapers influence those who because of lack of education or other reasons support the newspapers with the largest circulations.

Here is an illustration of a falsehood which influenced at least 10,000,000 persons and also serves as an illustration of another medium of communication which very effectively makes public opinion.

On the night of October 24, 1946, over a nationwide radio hookup of the American Broadcasting Co., Town Meeting of the Air had as principal speakers Leo Cherne, head of the Labor Research Institute, and Earl Browder, who had been expelled some time earlier from the Communist Party of America. The following is a page from the transcript of the meeting as it appears in the bulletin Town Hall sells for ten cents:

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman down here on the other side of the house.

Man: My question is directed to Mr. Browder. The basic right of American unions is to strike. Has Russian trade unionism the right to strike for better living conditions or anything else?

Mr. Denny: Has Russian trade unionism—have the trade unions in Russia the right to strike for better living conditions or anything else?

Mr. Browder: Yes, they do. (Shouts and laughter.)

Mr. Cherne: Without any hesitancy, I'd like to say at this point, as I was tempted to a number of times before, that Mr. Browder lies.

Mr. Denny: Oh, no, no, no, Leo, you can't do that. I'm sorry, Leo. Leo, you may say he's mistaken. I'm sorry but that's a word we don't use here.

Mr. Cherne: No, George, let me be perfectly frank. I think it is a curious fraud on the public to say that a person is mistaken when you know that he has the information at his disposal and just doesn't use it. I don't think we serve information by that process. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: I'm sorry but that's a word we don't use here. Mr. Browder, what do you have to say about it?

Mr. Browder: I say that I know the Russian unions have the right to strike. I don't know what that has to do with the question before us here tonight, however. . .

And so the word "liar" was used from coast to coast, and Mr. Denny administered a slight tap on the wrist to Mr. Cherne and did not ask for an apology. Nor was anything ever said on Town Hall broadcasts as to the truth or falsity of the matter under debate.

It would have been an easy matter to ask some authority like Albert Rhys Williams who wrote *The Soviets* (discussing the right to strike on page 214), or Walter Duranty who served the *New York Times* in Moscow for more than a decade, or perhaps the AP man (Eddy Gilmore) then resident in Russia. But Mr. Denny did nothing about it. He did not like to hear the word "liar" used on his program, but if there was a liar in this episode Mr. Denny made no effort to discover him.

The question of the right to strike in Russia—or in the Eastern countries in which the Communists have an important or a major control—has been asked many times and has been answered. I asked it in 1922 and was not satisfied with the Russian answer, which was to the effect that although the right to strike existed it was not exercised because the country and its wealth, including of course the factories, mines, and workshops, belonged to the workers, therefore they did not strike against themselves.

However, there are actual instances of strikes in Russia which apparently even Earl Browder during all the years he headed the Communist movement in America did not hear about. Here is one proof:

RUSSIAN UNION CALLS MEMBERS OFF JOBS
AS FACTORY IGNORES BID FOR SAFETY DEVICES

This item appeared in the conservative *New York Times* and is not from the pen of the totally objective Mr. Duranty, but from one of his successors who was anti-Soviet and who was, as a result of his correspondence, expelled from his post.

Brooks Atkinson wrote in the *Times* of April 6, 1946 about a strike called by the central committee of the Electrical Workers Trade Union "at an unidentified manufactory" and reported in the Moscow daily *Trud*, the organ of the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. All the details are given. There were protests by workmen, letters of protest to the union newspaper, an attempt to settle the matter without a walkout, and finally the strike itself. Apparently it was still going on when the *Times* printed the news. And, incidentally, the official newspaper was quoted in its editorial favoring labor against management!

The foregoing pages were actually written on March 11, 1949. On this very day two minor, but illuminating items, were in the news. (In parenthesis, the author would like to state that in this chapter at least there has been no effort made to coordinate the facts or to plan their presentation in any way. It is, indeed, the aim of the author to show, by the very haphazardness of this collection of items the universality of the campaign of press falsehood. Professor Baker, Harvard, 1911-12, brilliantly explained the seemingly helter-skelter scenes of *Julius Caesar*, the scenes usually omitted on the stage: they did not provide unity of the drama but they did give a sense of the Roman Empire being everywhere in the known world. So is the campaign of press falsehood in cold-war time.)

On March 11, 1949, the *New York Times*, page 3, published a decent apology for its fake item of February 24. On that day in a report of Henry Wallace's testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the Marshall Plan had failed, and that its objective was to intensify the cold war with Russia, the *Times* also stated:

"As Mr. Wallace left the committee suite . . . he faced a battery of photographers. After several poses, a photographer suggested that Mr. Wallace give the closed-fist salute of the Soviets. Mr. Wallace obliged."

This was not true. The photographers did try to compromise Mr. Wallace, as they have succeeded in doing in the

past, but this time Mr. Wallace was not tricked. The plan is obvious. In the cold war against the East the attack is carried on at home not only to those who might be friends of the East but to those who want peace. Mr. Wallace has been a victim of the press for many years.

"While his fist was clenched, it was not raised and his pose could not be correctly described as that of a man giving the communist salute. For this error the *New York Times* expresses its regret and apologizes to Mr. Wallace," said the *Times*. But although this was an excellent opportunity for an editorial denouncing those photographers who work for dishonest editors who insist on pictures being faked so that their victims are compromised and smeared and redbaited—with "photographs which do not lie"—just as they are in newspaper headlines and editorials and cartoons, the *Times* passed over the opportunity in olympian silence. Other newspapers carrying the same lie did not correct it.

The foregoing item is an example of what might be called straight fake news, its falsity quickly proved, its influence limited and perhaps annulled. But history tells us, notably in the munitions investigations of the 1930's, that the kind of hate that leads to war is frequently encouraged by big war scares which are usually without foundation but which play the part the Reichstag fire of 1933 played in the war by the Nazis against the German Republic. Here are two samples of this type of falsehood, both of the year 1948, in many ways a newspaper "banner" year in fakery.

Headlined throughout the world on January 15th and 16th was the story of "Protocol M," a document allegedly issued by the Cominform, calling for "workers risings," "mass struggles" and the complete disruption of the Ruhr valley. The full text of this "document" appeared on page 2 of the *New York Times* of January 16th. On the front page it was stated that "British authorities confirmed the authenticity" of "Protocol M," and a London report, page 2, said that "the authenticity . . . was confirmed by the British Foreign Office today." That brilliant organization, so powerful that it has

had among its satellites for almost half a century the State Department of the United States, and the chancellories of many lesser countries, stated that it was "not prepared to produce proof in public since it had to protect the sources of its knowledge and the methods of obtaining the documents," according to the *Times'* own representative. The State Department stated officially it had been informed "a month or two ago" of Protocol M, and that this information "came from people we consider reliable."

In the face of the official Foreign Office and State Department declarations a Reuters' despatch from Berlin that "the Soviet-licensed *Berlin am Mittag*" called the Protocol a forgery of a political parity with the Nazi Reichstag fire originated by the Nazis for their own purposes, was laughed off as the usual drivel from the Red zone. Miss Marguerite Higgins of the *Herald Tribune* reported from Berlin that "the communists tonight accused American and British intelligence of having themselves concocted Protocol M," and her newspaper gave this item adequate display.

One of the interesting features of the whole episode is the fact that without mentioning a document or a "plot," the syndicated redbaiting columnist William Philip Simms several days earlier had published across six columns of the front page of the Scripps-Howard papers his own story of a plot scheduled for midsummer by the reds in France and Italy. He got his news in Washington; it was "inside information" and Mr. Simms said "it would be reasonable to assume that President Truman had such information," a nice line to bolster up his own dope. There are no facts whatever, no evidence, nothing but hearsay and imagination, but out of these emerge paragraphs about "SECRET ARMIES REORGANIZED," "well armed," who would "continue to receive additional equipment from Yugoslavia." Concluded Mr. Simms: "Whether or not the above size-up is entirely accurate—and only time can tell—all information reaching Washington indicates that 1948 will be decisive." The Summer of 1948 is

now history, and despite Mr. Simms and Protocol M there have been no plots, no "blows," and no uprisings.

Miss Higgins on January 18th informed the *Herald Tribune* and its readers that "BERLIN REDS ASK BIG 4 INQUIRY ON PROTOCOL M," giving further publicity to the charge that it was a forgery, but her own newspaper said editorially that same day that event had cast no doubts on the authenticity of the protocol. Again, in this paper's weekly review, written by Marcus Duffield, the possibility of a forgery was mentioned, but whether or not it was authentic "events already were shaping up favorably to its execution."

The British Labour weekly, *Tribune*, describing Protocol M as a plan for the seizure of power in Western Germany, said editorially that "if one is concerned with discovering the truth (rather than with confirming one's prejudices) a comparison with known genuine documents would prove this one a forgery." No American publication which had for days headlined every little strike as a part of the plot to overthrow the British and American powers in Germany attempted to get at the truth.

On January 21st Hector McNeil, Minister of State, said in the House of Commons that "His Majesty's Government believe this document to be genuine."

Thus passed four months of incitement. The cold war was progressing with cold-war scares.

Credit for exposing this international falsehood must be given to Cyrus Sulzberger of the *New York Times* who cabled from Genoa (for the April 11th issue) he had learned that British Intelligence Service "had been hoodwinked" by a forgery "prepared by an anti-communist German" and the Foreign Office had "released it to the press in all good faith, convinced of its genuineness." "This incident," concluded Mr. Sulzberger, "is characteristic of one phase of the present day nervousness and suspicion in Europe. A network of forgers and falsifiers—some clever and some not—are busily peddling allegedly secret documents to embassies, intelligence officers, ministries and newspapers correspondents. . .

It is likely that documents are being peddled with equal facility on the other side of the 'iron curtain.' "

In an appended item, known as a "shirt tail," it was stated that "Britain's Foreign Office showed some embarrassment today" over the *Times*' report but had "no comment." Later, however, that portion of the press which has a trace of the ethics of journalism left in its character reported (on an inside page, to be sure, where it never could undo the harm of the original column headlines on page 1) that the British government admitted in the House of Commons that Protocol M was "a possible fake" (*Herald Tribune*, April 20). Mr. Hector McNeil stated that the Foreign Secretary (Ernest Bevin) had made an exhaustive investigation, had found the German author, and had therefore concluded that "the authenticity of this document now lies in doubt." Foreign offices never apologize—and newspapers rarely; the foregoing, however, was quite a feat of unbending by the high and mighty.

The exposure of the forgery reverberated through editorial sanctums and the depths of diplomatic bunkers throughout the rest of the year. Only two or three similar scares were attempted. On June 13th, for example, there was one which the *London Sunday Dispatch* (page 1, 3-columns) headed:

WESTERN POWERS FIND SOVIET PLAN

TO INVADE FRANCE AND ITALY

and referred to as a "blueprint" to invade not only these nations but Scandinavia as well "between August and September." The plan was followed by an italicized 2-column item, headed "Air Marshal's Grave Warning" and quoting Sir Hugh Walmsley of the Air Ministry saying "we have to get the Air Force cracking, and cracking pretty quickly, to stop our potential enemy, Soviet Russia."

The *Sunday Times* published only a few paragraphs of this discovery of the Soviet plan for the invasion of Europe, and credited it to the Committee for the Study of European Ques-

tions of which Lord Vansittart and Lord Brabazon of Tara are members.

The fake-of-the-month for July was a report, headlined in the evening newspapers of the 6th, of another "Russian plot to drive the Western Allies from Berlin" as the AP reported it (*Rome American*); it was based on a document of course, this one "very secret," obtained by the French newspaper *Figaro*, and detailed everything "from sabotage to the use of Russian troops," as "CBS Views the Press" reported (July 10). The wire services (AP, UP, INS) apparently had sensationalized it for early editions, but in later editions and on the following day, it was no longer headlined. One reason, according to Don Hollenbeck (CBS) was that "later stories also carried the comment that the *Figaro* piece sounded very much like the famous Protocol M, and perhaps that reference was what made editors and reporters somewhat cautious about the *Figaro* exposé."

The big war scare in the United States in the year 1948 was deliberately planned and planted, in much the same manner naval scares had been used in Britain and other countries for the greater part of this century. (See *Iron, Blood and Profits* and other exposés of the "merchants of death".)

It began with two innocent items totaling less than fifty lines, sent by the AP from Batavia and London, March 21, 1946. (My clipping is from the *World-Telegram*). The heading is "Russian Submarines Rumored Off Java" and while it refers to "a similar dispatch" from Aneta, the Netherlands news agency circulated by Reuters in London, it also states that the Supreme Allied Command made no comment, and that an investigation by a Dutch staff officer "failed to substantiate the submarine report which was attributed to Indonesian sources." The British Admiralty "had no information of Russian intentions to send submarines into the area."

Two years later America was roused by a tremendous submarine scare. On March 25, 1948 in a statement he was read-

ing to the Senate Armed Service Committee, Secretary of the Navy John L. Sullivan stated:

"Recently submarines belonging to a nation west of the 'Iron Curtain' have been sighted off our shores. I am not prepared to evaluate the significance of these sightings. However, we all recall that an early step of the Germans in 1917 and 1941 was to deploy submarines off our coast." (Secretary Sullivan refers, of course, to "a nation west" of the Pacific.)

For two days the press inked its biggest headlines.

"Russian submarines crawling over the first pages in 96-point-plus type. U.S. four-motored bombers warming up in the headlines, their noses pointed towards Moscow," reported *PM* in its main story of the day (by Victor Bernstein), headlined: "UP THE PERISCOPES! UP THE HEADLINES! FACTS ON THE SUB SCARE."

The *World-Telegram* (and other papers throughout the country) had used their entire eight columns for the headline on the 26th ("FOUR MORE SUBS SEEN IN PACIFIC / Reds Reported Lurking Off Our Bases for Year / 7 Underseas Craft Sighted so far—5 in Vicinity of Aleutians), but when its rival, *PM*, gave the war scare away with its own front page headlines ("NAVY BACKS DRAFT PLEA WITH RED SUB SCARE") it backed down to a 2-column head in its later editions.

According to *PM* "the cold war has developed into the shooting-of-the-mouth war. . . What's behind the headlines. . . Yesterday's salvo was aimed not so much at Russia as it was at the Senate and American public opinion, which the Truman Administration is pressuring into acceptance of the peace time draft and Universal Military Training. It was a propaganda battle, an enormous Bikini explosion of hot air, mushrooming over the newspapers and the country."

The submarine war scare, however, was not ended by one blast at its authors in one honest newspaper. Attempts to revive it were made throughout the year. Here are just a few of the more interesting items on this subject.

The Navy had its scout planes searching for a "foreign

submarine" only sixty miles from the California coast, but found none. (*PM*, March 29.)

"Presumably" Russian submarines were observed near Eniwetok Atoll, the U.S. atom testing ground. (*Herald Tribune*, page 1, April 4.) On the fourth page of the same paper James E. Warner reported from Washington that after Mr. Sullivan "dropped his bombshell" the journalist had made inquiries at the State Department, which had informed him that "submarines of and other warships of the Soviet Union, or any other nation, are within their rights in traveling the high seas of any ocean" and that "the three mile limit . . . is the generally accepted boundary of territorial waters," therefore there was nothing wrong in the submarine trips if they had been factual and not a propaganda falsehood.

Lt. Gen. N. F. Twining, commanding our forces in Alaska, "emphatically denied reports of Russian air or submarine activity in the territory." (UP report, *PM*, April 16.)

The Navy denied the sensational charge by Congressman Hugh D. Scott, Jr. (Republican, Pa.) that an Air Force bomber, mistaking U.S. Submarine *Carp* for a Russian, bombed it, dropping it to the bottom of the sea and sending its personnel of fifty to the hospital, when it was lifted. (AP, June 2.)

The Navy abandoned search "of a mysterious submarine just outside Pearl Harbor," the AP announced November 11.

But on November 28 a new submarine scare appeared. "MYSTERY SHROUDS SUBMARINE STORY," read the AP report in the *Times*. The first paragraph said: "Cruising of an unidentified ultra-modern submarine in Gulf-Coast waters was indicated tonight in reports released by the Navy Department. For the evening papers the Navy stated it was "probably" a snorkel-type, which the Germans designed for "breathing" while submerged and which the Russians are said to have seized.

On the 29th, however, "Navy officials today discounted reports [given by] the crew of a training plane" which "thought they saw a periscope 20 miles off the U.S. coast."

The history of Protocol M and the prowling submarine story are in the tradition of the great war scares which were so useful in continuing the hypertrophied armament races which led to war after war in the twentieth century.

In its exposé of the Sullivan maneuver *PM* said: "It is not a war tomorrow that we have to fear. It is the talk of a war which will lead inexorably, inevitably, to war the day after tomorrow."

Of the exposé of Protocol M the independent organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, *Labor*, said (April 24): "The British international spy organization is the oldest and most experienced in the world. If it could be fooled by a 'forger,' what of our comparative amateurs?"

"These shadow 'agents' of very dubious character help shape our government's policies and public opinion. Some day a 'Protocol M' cleverly forged and 'planted' could touch off a Third World War."

CHAPTER THREE

THE WORLD OF HALF-TRUTH

In declaring cold war against not only the Eastern nations and Soviet Russia, but also against the socialist regime in Great Britain and liberal-democratic-labor movements everywhere in the world, the American press and the lesser means of mass information have engaged in two forms of falsehood: the lie direct, which is easily detected and sometimes corrected, as witness the preceding chapter; and the much more serious method of mass misinformation about which Tennyson wrote:

That a lie which is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies,
That a lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with
outright,
But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.

Whether a lie or a half-lie or a half-truth, the facts are that it is an effective weapon in both wartime and cold-war time when directed not against the enemy but against your own people, most of whom have already been disarmed against this moral force by the emotions, even the hysteria, of the tense situation.

Campaign for Fascist Spain

There is perhaps no better illustration of Tennyson's half-truth being the blackest of lies than the story of Franco Spain, from the day of the outbreak of fascist treason to the 1949 campaign in the UN and in the Senate to invite that nation into the Atlantic Pact and to use it as the southern base (with Britain on the north) for the American air fleet's atomic bombers in World War III.

In this business of whitewashing the Franco lie with fascist half-truth a large part of the American press, with the blessings of the State Department, the Army, Navy and Air Services, and the followers of the Vatican international line were all united in propaganda against the mind of the American majority. Public opinion was needed to make fascism palatable.

There had never been a total discontinuance of the attack on the Republic of Spain which began at the end of 1936, when the Vatican intervened morally on the side of fascism just as Mussolini and Hitler had in July of that year intervened militarily. The American press which in the first months of the traitorous attack on the recognized republican regime reported the facts accurately, bowed to pressure and intimidation—which included the reading of pastoral letters by every priest in Philadelphia denouncing the liberal *Record* of that city, one of the newspapers which had refused to be intimidated and blackmailed by threats of boycott. The Spanish Republic, which at the time of the rebellion had only 25,000 Communist citizens, became known as "red" in the headlines and news stories, and atrocities committed by Nazi troops and Franco's own Falangists were charged to the anti-fascist coalition.

The Republic itself admitted many disagreeable truths. It was true that in the first weeks of the uprising, when officers who had sworn to uphold the republic committed treason, and Franco took with him not only the army but also the police forces, all sorts of violent acts occurred in the cities,

including attacks on churches, where mobs, not the forces of the Republic, did kill many priests.

Nevertheless, in 1946 when the United Nations took action against Spain, and again in 1948 when the House of Representatives voted in favor of Franco, and in 1949 when Spain's place in a future war was considered important by many Senators, the pro-fascists using the absolutely true fact of an atrocity having been committed, engaged in the vast half-truth campaign charging it to the Loyalists.

Throughout the country the Knights of Columbus and other Catholic organizations and publications even placed advertisements repeating this half-truth. Here is one (from the *Cincinnati Post*, a Roy Howard daily, February 2, 1946):

THESE ARE FACTS

about the Spanish Republican Government of 1936-38

300,000 CITIZENS KILLED

36,000 MURDERED IN MADRID

7,937 Bishops, Priests, Religious Martyred

This advertisement, paid for by Archbishop McNicholas' diocesan paper, the *Catholic Telegraph Register*, as "a public information service," does not contain a word of evidence in its text, while its headlines are the usual half-truths which are worse than outright falsehoods. It is interesting to compare this headline with an item which appeared in Henry Luce's weekly *Time*. Said *Time* on September 21, 1936:

"600 Priests Hanged." When nine priests disguised as fishermen slipped from Spain over the Bay of Biscay to France last week and talked to correspondents, out went such headlines as SIX HUNDRED PRIESTS AND NUNS SLAIN BY ANARCHISTS. There was also the one about the 82-year-old Archbishop of Valladolid killed by a firing squad with his arm tied around the neck of a statue of the Virgin Mary fortnight ago. Last week the Archbishop arrived safely at Bordeaux. In Irun . . . no confirmation . . . for the story that the populace had crucified five monks and burned nuns alive. In fact last week largely was devoted to debunking . . . atrocity yarns. . .

Some priests and nuns were killed by uncontrolled mobs, but none was killed by the Spanish Republican Government forces.

There are no eyewitness accounts, no proved atrocities on the side of the Loyalists, whereas the Nazis along with Franco and the fascists of all lands who fought with him, not only declared publicly they would murder Republicans (whom they first labeled as "reds," "communists," and "Marxist beasts") but they permitted eyewitness accounts to be printed of actions which to the impartial world were nothing less than atrocities.

The massacre of the citizens of Guernica was witnessed by British newspapermen, including the Catholic Noel Monks. The massacre of the citizens of the island of Mallorca was witnessed by the French Catholic philosopher-writer George Bernanos and described in his book *Cemeteries Under the Moon*. Writing from the town of Palma in the *New York Post*, March 8, 1947, the leading Catholic liberal columnist, Dr. Francis E. McMahon, quoted a native saying that whoever tells the truth, objecting to what the Franco troops did there, "is denounced as a communist." Dr. McMahon then quotes Bernanos: "there was no violence whatsoever beforehand here. No burning of churches or slaughter of priests." But when Franco won the island "Bernanos witnessed what followed. Men suspected of republican sympathies were rounded up. Many were shot at once, others at first imprisoned. Others were dragged from their homes at night, and their bodies were found the next morning on the roadside. A priest, Father Alomar, was executed for allegedly trying to help some escape from the fury. The total number of those slain runs into the thousands."

Only two American correspondents got the evidence of an actual atrocity, but the report one wrote and its publication are worth recounting because here again we have documentary evidence of the violation of all the canons of journalism, and the usual *suggestio falsi* of which many who help form

public opinion are guilty. The paragraphs regarding the atrocity follow in full:

The Spanish Civil War, where I spent five months at the front, only epitomizes what many thoughtful people on this side now believe will be the fate of Europe. The ferocity of that conflict makes our own dreadful American Civil War seem, by comparison, an amiable discussion.

I have seen five old women freshly executed, their bodies lying in a heap on the roadside—one of them with bullets through her hand as she had lifted it to screen her eyes from the rifles. There was something abominably shameless in the way their executors had left their bodies in the ditch to be viewed by all.

I have seen two youths, bound by wire back to back, dead from flames of gasoline poured upon them by their executioners. Prisoners are shot without trial. Wounded prisoners are hand-grenaded to death in their hospital beds. I have seen aviators parachuting from their flaming planes, dangling dead beneath their parachutes as the enemy fighters machinegunned them.

All this, and worse that can't be told, was done in the name of idealism. . .

The author of the foregoing is H. R. Knickerbocker. The story appeared in *Cosmopolitan* magazine for June 1937. Mr. Knickerbocker was the Hearst correspondent in Spain, but his evidence of atrocities did not appear in the Hearst newspapers, because Hearst then, and always, supported the fascist dictator. Moreover, in the Hearst magazine the actual atrocities are not charged to Franco—but inasmuch as Knickerbocker has stated publicly that the automobile trip on which he came upon the murdered mothers and grandmothers was arranged by Colonel Bolin, the Franco press chief, to prove to American journalists that all was beautiful on Franco's side, there is no question about this being a witnessed fascist atrocity. If Knickerbocker had sent this item, so identified, to the powerful Hearst chain and these nineteen city dailies had frontpaged it in the usual sensational Hearst manner, this one story might have had incalculable effect on public opinion.

One item that Knickerbocker did send and Hearst did publish was an "official declaration" by the fascist General Mola that the "Reds"—the officially established Republican government—had begun to use poison gas against the Franco troops. This statement, although official, was a lie. Said the *Guild Reporter*, organ of the American Newspaper Guild (September 15, 1936): "The official declaration immediately becomes fact for Knickerbocker, who has been with the rebel forces at Burgos all along."

The other American who witnessed Franco murders was Robert Neville of the *Herald Tribune*. He happened to be in Granada on a holiday, and along with many of the citizens, saw the murder of anti-fascists—most of them working men—which the Franco forces made no effort to hide. Neville cabled his newspaper (August 2, 1936): "In Gibraltar I found to my surprise that most newspaper men had been sending only 'horror' stories. . . The correspondents have specialized in Red terror, whereas the writer of this dispatch has been the witness of White terror in Granada for 23 days."

The correspondents who reported the Loyalists as "Reds," and ascribed terrorism to them, reported from hearsay; but Mr. Neville lived through the fascist terror. He wrote many heartbreaking dispatches—which of course did not get the vast circulation the Hearst press could have given them—and all of them were authentic. There was only one thing the pro-Franco press and pulpit in America could do to counteract the truth, and this it did: they gave wide circulation to the statement that Mr. Neville's job on the *Herald Tribune* had been that of editor of the bridge column. Since they couldn't destroy him by calling him a red, they did try to make out of him nothing but an expert on card-playing.

An "Episode" in Cold-War News

The Spanish story is an example of the propagation of half-truths for political purposes over a period of more than a decade, revived at the end of the 1940's for the purpose of bring-

ing Spain, which saw the dress rehearsal of the Second World War, into full membership in the Western coalition for the Third World War.

Both before and after the creation of the North Atlantic Security Pact it was generally agreed that there would be no war in the immediate future unless there was an "episode," an act of provocation such as the shooting down of an airplane by the "enemy," or perhaps an unprovoked "incident," an accident which could (thanks of course to the sensation-mongering of the press) be used to create the mass hysteria which would result in a demand for war.

From 1945 on there has been one episode after another, one incident after another, many of them small happenings or minor mistakes, all employed by the press to whip up anger, to confirm and to store up hatred, to create an atmosphere of war but not a demand for war itself. In almost every case a half-truth rather than a quickly scotched falsehood was the base of the journalistic campaign.

The example which follows has been chosen because in this instance it was one of the big commercial newspapers which exposed the hysterical press campaign of the time.

In mid-March 1946 the nation was shocked by tremendous headlines saying "REDS FIRE ON U.S. PLANE," under which was a Mukden, Manchuria, story telling how American war correspondents were attacked by a Soviet airplane; the culmination of numerous stories, the others telling how the American journalists had been arrested by Red Army soldiers at the point of their machine-guns; how they were locked up in jail, how they had again been fired on when walking in the streets of Mukden, and how they had been mistreated by the Russians. It was one of a whole series—of thousands, perhaps of many thousands—of news items from foreign lands written and published for the purpose of preparing the American mind for the "inevitable" war against the Reds.

On March 18th the *Chicago Daily News* (and the newspapers which buy its syndicate service) published a dispatch from correspondent William McGaffin which told a different

story. This is how Editor Terry Pettus reprinted the McGaffin paragraphs to answer the items from all the other correspondents which had been headlined the previous fortnight:

Were U. S. correspondents fired on?

McGaffin writes: "I heard many shots fired, especially after dark in Mukden. But never once heard a bullet whizz by, so I can't honestly say I was shot at, as some correspondents did."

Were U. S. correspondents jailed?

McGaffin writes: "One agency man declared 'we were detained in a guardhouse for an hour here in Changchun.' Actually, we were not detained at all in a guardhouse but invited to 'come into the guard's lounge out of the cold' while the captain of the guards telephoned our request for an interview to Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky's headquarters across the road."

Was a plane carrying U. S. correspondents fired on?

McGaffin writes: "A Russian fighter plane made a pass at our plane as it started out from here for Peiping, according to reports of one agency man. I know for a fact, however, that no one in the plane actually saw the asserted pass made, nor was aware of anything untoward until our plane returned to Changchun with engine trouble and we were told of the 'attack' by Chinese sources. It seems unlikely that the Russians would threaten a plane on which four Soviet diplomatic officials were riding."

Were U. S. correspondents menaced by Red Army men brandishing tommy-guns?

McGaffin writes: "A squad of six or eight Red Army soldiers, it is true, met us at the Changchun station when we arrived without permission. But their attitude certainly was not hostile as some writers have suggested. They had tommy-guns slung over their shoulders and insisted on carrying our typewriters and baggage for us, while their commander greeted us with a big smile and shook hands all around."

Were U. S. correspondents mistreated?

McGaffin writes: "The Yamato Hotel, where we were detained for 53 hours, is not a 'plush job,' but it is the best in town and the Russians were put out of their rooms so we could have some of the best beds in the hotel . . . The food was bad and all but one of us took dysentery, but it was the same food the Russians ate. When one member of the party, Charlotte Ebener of Milwaukee, fell sick with pleurisy, Red Army and Chinese officials both sent

their best doctors and she had more attention than she knew what to do with." (*New World*, March 28, 1946.)

In this manner the falsehoods and, as notably in the case of the "red plane attack," the half-truths of the news items of many of these correspondents were exposed to the light of truth. But was the damage undone? The *News*, the *Seattle Times*, and a few other papers published the report by Mr. McGaffin; but the hate and distrust and war psychology created by the correspondents of more than a thousand papers, repeated week after week, remained.

Apparently aware of the situation, McGaffin concluded his report from Manchuria with these words: "Russo-American relations are bad enough without worsening them by printing stories you know are off the beam, simply because you know your competition is doing it and making the big headlines." But there would be no "competition" filing falsehood and half-truths unless there were a majority of editors and publishers wanting them. As Pettus pointed out, even after the story of American journalists being imprisoned was shown to be a lie, the Hearst *Post-Intelligencer* (and syndicated columnist George Sokolsky) repeated it and stated that "the American people are entitled to the news, truthfully and fully conveyed to them by reporters in the employ of American newspapers, news agencies and radio companies." A lie never lives to be old. From the time of Sophocles to the time of Sokolsky, it finds people to repeat it for their own purposes.

"Trieste: Fuse of World War III"

Before the promulgation of the Atlantic Pact the loose federation known as the West also had a sort of loosely proposed first line of defense against the East, which a high official at 10 Downing Street first named for me as the Luebeck-Trieste line. Luebeck was in the British zone of German occupation facing the Russians, and Trieste had been proclaimed a free state between Italy and Yugoslavia. I realized

then why so many news stories, popular magazine pieces, and columns written by well-known personalities were preoccupied by Trieste. Sometimes it was called the "powder keg of Europe," or again the "fuse of World War III."

In all of these items Vittorio Vidali is referred to as the "boss" of Trieste, the most powerful and important figure in the much disputed seaport. I went to see both the fuse or powder keg and the man who, the press said, might set it off.

There was no doubt at all among either the Triestinos or the Anglo-American forces of occupation that Vidali was the most important and powerful figure in their free state. He was one of the great heroes of the Spanish Republican war of defense against fascist treason: he commanded the Fifth Brigade, the troops which saved Madrid in 1936, and he was known affectionately throughout the entire anti-fascist world as Carlos. In Spain he was Commandant Carlos, or General Carlos Contreras; his picture, with the other leaders of the army, was everywhere. No one knew if he was a Spaniard or not and no one cared; no one knew if he was a Communist or not, and no one cared. He was a great leader.

In the present day history of dirty journalism Carlos, or Vittorio Vidali to give him his right name, occupies a special place. He has not only been lied about as a public figure, but his personal life has been the subject of the foulest libels, and every fascist-invented calumny has been repeated by supposedly respectable writers for supposedly respectable American newspapers and magazines.

One of the lies which is seemingly unweathered by age was originated in Franco Spain and charged the great and beloved Carlos with undermining the Loyalist cause. This fascist piece of propaganda later appeared in the column of Joseph Alsop in the *Herald Tribune* (October 29, 1947) in the following words:

"For some time also he (Vidali, or Carlos) was one of the communist agents in Spain who helped to wreck the Loyalist cause from within while the fascists attacked it from without."

Reactionary or irresponsible journalists repeat each others' propaganda despite its source. A year later the same falsehood appeared as follows:

"One of those communist conspirators in Spain who . . . damaged the Loyalist cause rather than helped it. After he went to Mexico he was named in connection with the Moscow-directed murder of Leon Trotsky. . ."

This time the writer is Ernest O. Hauser, *Saturday Evening Post*, March 20, 1948. It would be just as truthful to say that General Eisenhower was one of those American leaders of the war against the Nazis who damaged the cause of democracy rather than helped it. And gratuitously, in the typical *Saturday Evening Post* manner—this magazine checks every line for libel twice but never checks anything for reactionary bias or insinuation which is libel-proof—Vidali is mentioned as "named in connection" with the Trotsky affair. It doesn't say who named him. But it is fine SEP stuff.

The worst libel of all appeared in the International News Service (Hearst) under a Madrid dateline, November 6, 1947. The Hearst man states he has obtained authoritative information and then proceeds for half a column to quote an anonymous source who claims he once knew "Commandante Carlos," who had been arrested and sent to the Liparian Islands by the Italian government as a "subversive." Hearst, however, does not explain that the arrest was made by Mussolini and that the "subversive" activity was actively opposing fascism in Italy.

Sometimes history catches up with the propaganda journalists and shows them up for what they are—but of course neither they nor their newspapers ever inform the readers they have made fools of themselves. Thus, in the Alsop item in the *Herald Tribune* the columnist stated without any qualifications that "Signor Vidali's major mission, however, is to bring Trieste under the eager heel of Marshal Tito." This was never true. But in the light of events it is an exposé of Mr. Alsop.

I found Vidali to be ten years older but little changed in

looks and temperament from the dynamic commander of the Fifth Brigade, the "regiment of steel." Short, heavy, exuberant, smiling, and jovial now compared to his tragic sadness of the days in Madrid, Vidali placed before me whole folders of reports about him in the foreign press.

"They lied about Spain; now they lie about Trieste; and they always lie about me," he said laughing heartily when I asked if he had ever protested to an American newspaper or magazine.

He thought the most uninformed item of all was Hauser's. The title was "Trieste: Fuse of World War III," and paragraph two stated that "Trieste is dynamite." This may have been the line given out by the British and American military government in time to appear in a March 1948 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, but it shows up as pure nonsense today.

The author speaks of "an unhappy-looking Yugoslav soldier" at the frontier. There are also visible: an unhappy British soldier; an unhappy American soldier. Mr. Hauser remarked on Yugoslav soldiers presenting "a slouchy appearance, with their illfitting uniforms . . . like so many Sad Sacks. And judging by their facial expressions, they know it. . . Bearing their own police-state system in mind," they refused to let photographs be taken.

It is true that many Yugoslav soldiers are poorly dressed, inasmuch as the entire nation was impoverished by the war and had almost nothing left to start out with in 1945. But only a *Saturday Evening Post* writer could be arrogant enough to pass as a psychologist able to make judgments from facial expressions and state what soldiers have in mind. Mr. Hauser is either the world's most phenomenal mind reader or he is an irresponsible journalist.

The article goes on to say that some United States officers in Trieste "think he (Tito) may jump off (meaning: attack Italy) even without a green light from Moscow," a piece of thinking which in the light of Tito-Moscow affairs today shows up both the mentality of the original thinker and the

astute journalist who finds this worthy of quoting. Hauser says that "if Tito does blow his top" there will be a considerable fight. Yugoslavia is referred to as a "fear-ridden country." Hauser states that "People's cooperatives systematically ruin the small shopkeeper," and that land reform, which for some SEP reason is put in quotations, as if it were not one of the most important things that has happened "has taken the soil away from its anti-Tito owners and given it to politically reliable Slavs." This is a half-truth in the Tennyson tradition. Land was taken from Nazis, traitors and large holders and distributed to hundreds of thousands of landless farmers.

Dictator's Press Orders

Although the Commission on Freedom of the Press was too timid to name editors and publishers who, in its own words, were guilty of "instances of press lying," "deliberate falsifications and reckless misstatement of fact," of failing to meet "the needs of our society" and of vulgarizing mankind and endangering "the peace of the world," it is no secret that No. 1 among the publishers was Press Lord William Randolph Hearst.

Many Americans who do not read the Hearst newspapers are happy in feeling that they escape being immersed in what one of the greatest American historians called the "cesspool" of journalism, but they are probably wrong. In addition to the newspapers,* Mr. Hearst also controls and dictates to the third largest news service in America, INS, and syndicates through King Features thousands of articles, news items, cartoons and other material which spread Hearstism throughout the world. In the 1949 *Editor & Publisher* year book, King Features boasts that it is "serving more than 2,500 news-

* New York Journal-American, Mirror; Boston Record and American, Advertiser; Chicago Herald-American, Los Angeles Herald-Express, Examiner; San Antonio Light, Milwaukee Sentinel, News Sentinel; Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, Albany Times-Union, Detroit Times, Baltimore News-Post, American; San Francisco Call-Bulletin, Examiner; Oakland Post-Enquirer, Seattle Post-Intelligencer.

papers in 131 countries and colonies in 30 languages." The major number "served" are in the United States—which has only about 1,750 dailies at present.

It is generally accepted as a fact that the confirmed reader of the Hearst press has a low intelligence quotient—Captain Patterson of the rival *News*, who catered to an IQ of 12 referred to Hearst addicts as morons—but it so happens that many more millions reading other papers are subject to Hearst influence, whether or not they know it.

Historian Charles A. Beard, addressing the convention of the National Education Association, in Atlantic City on February 24, 1935, said:

"In the course of the past fifty years I have talked with Presidents of the United States, Senators, Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the House of Representatives, Governors, Mayors, bankers, editors, college presidents (including that great scholar and thinker Charles W. Eliot), leading men of science, Nobel Prize winners in science and letters, and I have never found one single person who for talents and character commands the respect of the American people, who has not agreed with me that William Randolph Hearst has pandered to depraved tastes and has been an enemy of everything that is noblest and best in our American tradition. Alfred Smith—a true friend of public education—added to his many deserved laurels when before a cheering multitude in New York City he defied Mr. Hearst. The answer of the people of New York was final and conclusive.

"There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a ten-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end. Unless those who represent American scholarship, science and the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely stand together against his insidious influences he will assassinate them individually by every method known to yellow journalism—only cowards can be intimidated by Hearst."

The National Education Association, acting on Dr. Beard's ringing denunciation, asked the Nye-Vandenberg Committee, then engaged in investigating the "merchants of death," to investigate Hearst. But despite his long history as an in-

stigator of war (against Spain in 1898; and against Mexico in 1914, because of his large hacienda interests, but not against the Nazis to whom he had sold his news service in 1935), Hearst has never had a setback in his career of yellow journalism.

I pick him rather than any of the other great press lords because he is unique among them in the issuing of daily press orders on perverting the news, in the exact manner of Mussolini and Dr. Goebbels.

It is not necessary to issue orders of any kind. Nor is it true, as many believe, that newspaper men are more or less crudely corrupted by the publishers. What really happens is a long series of stopovers in the drift through journalism in which liberals and reactionaries, radicals and crypto-fascists usually find their safe anchorage. Neither Arthur Hays Sulzberger of the *New York Times* nor the Pulitzers of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* have to order their men into line, whether it is right or left, or issue instructions in policy, because in the course of time newspapers build up a corps and an esprit de corps which echoes and is an echo of the press lord. The exception was for a short while the foreign news service of the *Chicago Tribune*. Col. McCormick was so much a Europe-hater and so arrogant regarding foreigners, he permitted his foreign staff full freedom.

Although Hearst attracts many of the most venal journalists, he also has in his employ many men who are obviously not what is known in the trade as "Hearst hired hands." They follow the code of ethics about as well as those working for other press lords. This may be the reason that Hearst finds it worth while to give daily orders on how his men are to slant, distort, and falsify the news. The existence of these orders is one of the major documents proving that the half-truth (or the Hearst-truth) is worse than the lie.

Mr. Hearst, for example, ordered his editors in 1936 to refer to the Spanish Republicans as the "Reds" and to the Franco fascists as the "Nationalists," thus making villains of the democratic forces and heroes of the terroristic, totali-

tarian and murderous forces. The Spanish Republic was red-baited to death. Hearst did his part.

At the end of World War II Hearst sent an order (according to Federated Press, April 29, 1946) to his editors to refer to the Russian system (and the Communist movement everywhere) as "red fascism." This phrase which is being used today by much of the press and in the halls of Congress, was coined by Hearst after fascism was defeated on the battlefield. Before that, however, Mr. Hearst had been the greatest friend and helper of fascism in America, publishing over a long period of years through most of the 1930's the writings of Hitler and Mussolini, Goering and Goebbels and other fascist propagandists. In fact, Hearst published more columns and items favoring the Nazis than Father Coughlin had, or any of the score of persons at one time indicted for alleged conspiracy to commit sedition.

Hearst then as now was also printing the Walter Winchell column which, until that time had been mostly gossip. When Winchell started running anti-Nazi items, Hearst on March 28, 1938 sent the following teletype telegram from his California palace:

To the editors of all Hearst newspapers using Winchell:

Please edit Winchell very carefully and leave out any dangerous or disagreeable paragraphs. . . Indeed, leave out the whole column without hesitation, as I think he has gotten so careless that he is no longer of any particular value.

William Randolph Hearst

Those were the days in which the whole Hearst empire was in the hands of the Chase National and other banks, when dividends on the stocks and bonds were not being paid regularly, and when Winchell was as he still is, one of the large moneymakers for the syndicate and one of the main circulation attractions. Winchell, however, had gone political, he had discovered fascism, and he was then attacking Hearst's friends and writers—Hitler, Mussolini and the rest—and the Nazis of America.

In the fortnight which followed the foregoing order, Winchell's columns were cut to bits by Hearst editors; all anti-Hitler, anti-Nazi, anti-Mussolini items were deleted and little was left. Other syndicates and other papers wanted Winchell. He sent his offer to resign to Hearst five times, but Hearst kept him—because of the money made out of syndication.

After one of his trips to Europe in which he made public declarations praising Hitler, Hearst sent the following order:

San Simeon, March 8, 1936.

To publishers and managing editors of all Hearst papers:

Play the European situation fully, but do not be alarmist.

There will be no war. England does not want war. France will not act alone. Germany has done what every nation knew she would do sooner or later, namely occupy her own territory. The suddenness of the move (the occupation of the Rhineland) is all that creates surprise.

Hitler's speech is not defiant. It is conciliatory.

Tell the complete facts and be impartial. Do not inflame public opinion. We got into one European complication and that is enough.

W. R. Hearst

A Hearst order issued three years later shows him more clearly than ever on Hitler's side:

Wyntoon, Cal. July 19, 1939

HNL

To Publishers and editors of all Hearst newspapers:

Chief says:

"There is not going to be any war in Europe—unless the U. S. precipitates it.

"An element here is trying to get us into war, and trying to make a war to get us into.

"I wish the papers and the International News Service would let up on this Nazi stuff (special attention called to the Warsaw dispatch today of Nazi plot to grab Danzig which is all blown up for propaganda purposes) and devote themselves to the genuine dangers which threaten the peace and safety of our Republic.

"Anyone that actually believes that any Nazi or fascist activities threaten the safety of this country is not in his right mind.

"And anyone who does not realize the danger to our democracy and to our safety from communist penetration has not any mind—the facts are so clear.

"I am not saying that Nazi activity in Europe is not often deplorable—especially in the case of the Jews; but the thing that engages America is communist penetration here, and American newspapers should be awake to that danger and not allow any red herrings to be drawn across the trail."

J. Willicombe
205 ANT 7/20/39

Hearst remained loyal to the Nazis throughout 1939, 1940, and 1941, heralding their victories and cheering them on. He was backing them to capture Odessa and sent the following order one day over his private teletype:

Wynton, Calif., July 21, 1941

WX

Editors All Hearst Papers:

The war news this morning was very uninterestingly told in some of our papers. The Odessa advance being paraded in headlines without clearly or fully relating it to the text.

The fighting of the Finns was not told conspicuously although this is most interesting to Americans and most characteristic of this phase of the war.

Please play up every day what the different sections of the armies are doing and make it clear in the text as well as in maps.

W. R. Hearst 529F

On the original teletype (which this writer has) the Hearst editor who sent it wrote: "Make text conform to your headlines; by 'the different sections of the armies' Hearst means Nazi armies."

Nor did Hearst cease showing his concern for fascism in February 1942, after his own country was at war. From the first of that month the Hearst press had been publishing a series of articles by Michael Chinigo, advertised as "one of the last American correspondents to return before the Italo-American declarations of war." Hearst broadsides announced ten articles under the general title "Italy in Chains."

The February 1 article was headlined "Duce Romances

While Germans Plunder Nation," which was a typical Hearst yellow sensation because it titillated the readers with stories of Mussolini's adulteries. Another in the series was headlined "Hitler's 'Italia Corps' Has Nation by Throat," a story of Gestapo terrorism and popular resentment in which Mussolini appeared as a prisoner of Hitler.

On February 5th Editor Jack Lait of the *New York Mirror* received one of the Hearst orders. This one, after referring to the exposé of fascism series, concluded:

"Don't like it. Cut it out."

The series was ended abruptly. This is perhaps an item of evidence for those who contend that the Hearst readership consists of morons (interested in the comic pages perhaps): although ten articles were announced no one noticed or protested the sudden stoppage with the sixth.

In 1944 Hearst began his war against America's ally, Soviet Russia. For the guidance of his editors he sent the following suggestion—not an order this time:

Wynton, Jan. 31, 1944

WX₁₄

Editors all Hearst papers:

Chief says INS dispatch from Moscow tonight on silence of press regarding Japanese atrocities important.

"Russia is ally of Japan," says Chief.

J. Willicombe

756 PGR

Hearst's INS that day sent an item which was headlined "Moscow Ignores Japanese Atrocities." The Associated Press reported February 1 that "the Moscow radio has broadcast 'in considerable detail' the official U.S. account of Jap atrocities. . ."

Several days later the Hearst press order said in part:

Chief says exclusive INS story of Russia's ultimatum to Finland should have had better play in this morning's papers.

Chief instructs to follow up with a big spread story on it in issue of Friday Feb. 18, including "interviews in Washington and views from abroad"—and to keep following it up as it is extremely important.

Chief says:

"Russia is going to occupy Europe. All our magnificent effort is going to accomplish one thing—the transfer of Europe from socialism to communism. . ."

In the Hearst *Journal-American* the fruit of this order was visible. It was exactly as demanded. The headline and first paragraph said:

SENATORS SEE SOVIET AIM TO RULE EUROPE

by David Sentner

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18—Soviet Russia—in her ruthless peace terms flung at little Finland—without consultation with her United Nations partners as pledged in the Moscow conference and the Atlantic Charter, has brazenly revealed her post-war policy. . .

This is one of the daily instances in which Hearst orders his newspapers what to print as news, what to get someone to say as news, how to color the news, how to propagandize the American people in accordance with a Hearst whim.

The Hearst campaign against Russia (and American Communists) began almost simultaneously with his visits to Germany, his talk with Hitler, and the sale of his news services to the Nazi regime. He has always had the support of the American Legion which has given him awards of honor and collaborated with him in witch hunts and redbaiting episodes in all the cities in which there are Hearst papers. (The Legion for many years also praised Mussolini and sent him honors and invitation—see *Facts & Fascism*, pp 105-121).

In recent years Hearst has had the powerful support of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America. Although not a Catholic, Mr. Hearst has always used his press as a propaganda organ for the faith of his wife and children. Years ago the liberal Catholic press of Cardinal Mundelein (*New World*), the *Commonweal*, and the *Catholic Worker* protested Hearst's praises. One of the Hearst daily orders, as quoted by *Time*, February 3, 1936, had read:

Please print a series of editorials strongly commending the Catholic Church for its militant attitude against com-

munism. It is an inspiring position, reminiscent of the Church's mightiest and most vigorous eras.

William Randolph Hearst

The *Catholic Worker* replied in an open letter to Mr. Hearst: "The followers of Marx are honest enough to hold to a doctrine which they believe is right. You, like all fascists, are a perfect pragmatist. Utility takes the place of morality for you. And, unlike some pragmatists, the utility is not for the common good. It is utility for Hearst.

"Please, Mr. Hearst, Catholics have a tough enough time trying to be understood. Do not complicate the issues more. Stay on your own side of the fence; do your own dirty work; fork up the passions of one mob against the other; do your best to stir up world conflagrations; rant and rave about 'My country, right or wrong'; support exploitation of labor; support everything that is evil in the world today, as you do; but please, please, do not try to convince the world that Catholics have any share in your sordid adventures."

One fourth of the American press is owned and controlled by five press lords: Hearst, Howard, McCormick and Patterson family, Gannett, and Knight. With the exception of Knight, who owns the *Chicago Daily News*, the *Detroit Free Press*, *Akron Beacon-Journal* and *Miami Herald*, and who respects the code of ethics of the profession, the other chain publishers, with or without daily orders to their writers, manipulate the news to suit their policies. So do most of the powerful individual newspapers. In any given instances of press corruption and press honesty, it has never been possible to place more than one per cent of America's 1750 daily newspapers on an honor roll—and usually that honor roll is always the same,* although there are additions and subtractions as the years go by. The *Gazette & Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, is without question the most ethical and honest, liberal, democratic and pro-general welfare daily in the coun-

* See Ch. 19, "A Roll of Honor," *Freedom of the Press*.

try, but it is a small town newspaper. We do not have 17 big city dailies like it in the country.

It is also true that no chain and no individual newspapers have been proven guilty, in court, in Congress, in the rival press and in the public mind of so much lying and so much prostitution as the Hearst press. But Roy Howard's Scripps-Howard chain has swung more and more into the Hearst line and habits. And the McCormick-Patterson chain is not far behind.

America does not get fair or honest journalism in about 98 or 99 per cent of its newspapers. If it cannot be truthfully said that the majority of newspapers use falsehood, it can however be said and proved that this majority slants the news, the headlines, the editorials, the cartoons, and prefers the reactionary and biased columnists; all of which results in public opinion in America being largely built up on propaganda, prejudices, and the half-truth—which is worse than the whole lie.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WORLD OF PROPAGANDA

Our American editors and publishers, who repeat endlessly the claim that their press is the best in the world, will, if pressed, also admit that they are the smartest editors and publishers in the world. And in many respects they are. They alone, it seems, are still capable of using the Hitlerian, or Goebbelsian, tactics of propaganda without being found out by the people whose minds they so largely control.

Compared to the crude daily press orders of Mussolini and Goebbels the American method is subtle, refined, efficient, and therefore much more successful.

The famous Hitlerian tactic of repetition is now being used by the American press. Hitler believed that "all effective propaganda has to limit itself to a very few points and to use them like slogans until even the very last man is able to imagine what is intended by such a word." This much at least the American publishers have learned from *Mein Kampf*.

On the other hand, the American press will not generally indulge in the totalitarian method of totally suppressing news items which might result in public opinion to which the press lords are opposed. Once, for example, when Franco said he

was a fascist, Roy Howard in his United Press suppressed that admission. But when the Pope gave his blessing to Franco and his fascist Falangists (an event which would arouse hostility among democracy-loving Americans) there was no suppression, no distortion, none of the many tricks with which the press is so often charged. Even the term "fascist" was used in this connection.

The same press, however, will use the phrase "communist-dominated" government, or labor union (notably the CIO in the 1930's and early 1940's), or peace conference, or any organization, movement, or institution of which it disapproves. This phrase may be exact and honest, or it may be a half-truth, or a whole lie. That is not the important question at this moment. The point is that the press will use the phrase "communist-dominated" not once, but every time—every day of a strike, every day when it refers to a certain government, every day there is a certain meeting.

The result: the American people do not remember that the Pope has blessed Spanish fascism, but the American people "know" that certain governments, labor unions, conferences, and institutions are red, "communist-dominated," good objectives for their hate and distrust.

Thus a newspaper's policy is carried out by repetition. It involves not only the headlines and the news items themselves, but also the editorials, the cartoons, the choice of columnists, even the radio and book reviews, and on occasion the sports department news. The repetition is ubiquitous and endless. The goebbelsian objective is attained. There is only one difference: the American press cannot be charged with the suppression of an occasional small reference not favorable to fascism—as in the Spanish case. But a Gallup poll in May, 1949, revealed that not only were the American people unaware of the fact Spain was fascist, but 46 per cent had not even heard of Franco.

If, on the other hand, certain Americans who hate reaction and its ultimate form, fascism, in writings or speeches refer to the present Greek regime as fascist, or crypto-fascist, or

monarcho-fascist, the press barrage against them centers largely on the charge that these terms are the inventions of *Pravda* or *Izvestia* or other Moscow papers. It is true that the Moscow press does use these phrases. The American press, however, does not attempt to find out whether or not the Greek regime is a form of fascism; the original Truman (Churchill) Doctrine made a democracy out of Greece, the American press committed itself to aiding the Greek regime throughout the cold war, and from that moment no attempt was made to tell the truth about it. And there was no Institute for Propaganda Analysis or a reliable organization of semanticists to expose the propaganda which this continual name-calling provided.

Another of the most subtle and most sinister propaganda methods of the American press, about which no word of criticism has ever appeared anywhere as far as this writer's research has been able to discover, is the use of the so-called "big" interview, the "scoop" interview, which no layman, ignorant of the Dana dictum that news is something that "happens," can possibly question. Most of these interviews do not happen, they are made.

It would require an analysis of scores of these items and a whole discourse on the functions of newspapers in the light of the code of ethics of journalism, as well as a technical definition of what makes news, to show the subtlety and the frequently poisonous propaganda which is clearly evident to only the professional eye in this branch of journalism.

To oversimplify the situation, it can be said that almost all the items the layman reads in his newspaper which do not tell of a happening but merely report what someone said—be he king, dictator, or a corner grocer—is not really news. Probably the best definition of what is news was given by the greatest authority of his time, Charles A. Dana, who, on the occasion of criticism of items in the *Sun* dealing with crime or sex or whatnot, which the Puritans did not want printed, replied: "What the good Lord lets happen I am not ashamed to print in my paper." The emphasis of course is on the word

happen. A shot fired at Mussolini during a parade is a happening; but an "exclusive" interview which Mussolini "granted" to a Hearst reporter in which he glorified the fascist system is not a happening, it is not news, even if the Hearst press uses it as the most important headline of the day.

But it is not so simple as all that. An interview with the same publicity-seeking ex-journalist Mussolini on another day, or by another newspaper man who would ask intelligent questions and close his ears to the usual propaganda, would make an honest news item. An interview with Mussolini on the day he stabbed France in the back, or on the day he fled Rome, or on any day in which he journeyed with the Nazis to his death, would be news; whereas an interview on any day in which he invited interviews would be a hoax, and usually a sinister one.

It is a fact that there were times before and after October 1922 (the "march on Rome" in a sleeping car) when the dictator sought foreign correspondents eagerly, and there was a time when he refused to see them and they sought him, even intrigued for the privilege. The *Manchester Guardian* interview, first given by the new dictator, was not a propaganda interview; it retains historical importance even today—but from that time on, until he was shot by the resistance forces, there were scores of occasions when Mussolini, one of the greatest practitioners of the manipulation of public opinion via the press, invited friendly journalists and notable visitors, who in turn would surely be interviewed at home, to "beseech" him for interviews which he would grant magnanimously and frequently.

There were times when it was difficult to keep out of them.

But, of course, no foreign journalist ever was so rude or crude in his behavior as to explain this situation to the public, whereas, in 1948 for example, when Stalin granted a written question-and-answer interview to *Pravda*, in which the vital problem of war or peace for the world was mentioned, the press—at least the American press—followed the printing of

the news with editorials, "think pieces" in the form of news items, cartoons, columnar opinions and humorous paragraphs explaining that this was in reality a "plant" by which the man in the Kremlin was trying to reach the vast outside world.

Yet, a year earlier (and again, a year later) every journalist in Moscow was using every trick in the trade to get a word from Stalin, and the one who succeeded was applauded universally.

How to explain this to the layman? One answer is timing. There are times the press wants the views of kings, dictators, presidents, and prime ministers, and there are times when the rulers want to use the press. There are also times when the press lends itself to aid certain rulers, and there are times when journalists either because of their own sympathies and convictions or as a sign of their usual genuflection to the publishers who pay them, engage in interviewing the "great" of this world.

Hitler's Propaganda

The best illustration in modern history in my opinion is the June 1940 "interview" with Hitler by Karl von Wiegand of the Hearst press. The reason for the quotation marks will soon become evident.

On pages 340 to 343 of the manuscript of the final report Assistant Prosecuting Attorney O. John Rogge, special representative of the Department of Justice, made to that institution, the story is told of how the Nazi propaganda machine, cooperating with the Nazi armies then on their way to capture Paris, attempted to influence public opinion in America, then on its way to unifying behind President Roosevelt for the safeguarding of America. Mr. Rogge's report (I am quoting from the manuscript by his permission) states:

I always suspected that von Wiegand's purported interview was no more than a prepared Nazi propaganda handout. Our investigation in Europe showed that this

was the fact. This is the account Paul K. Schmidt gave us concerning von Wiegand:

"The articles by Karl H. von Wiegand were highly regarded by Hitler and also by Ribbentrop. This applied especially to the various articles which von Wiegand wrote when he was in China. Ribbentrop saw in him a man who wanted to keep America out of war, and who could help us in this task. He saw Ribbentrop several times before I entered my position, and I think he must also have seen Hitler, but I do not know that exactly. About the interview of June 14, 1940, I remember this:

"The subject for the interview between von Wiegand and Hitler originated with DNB who sent on the questions von Wiegand was to ask. The questions came to Hitler by way of Otto Dietrich of the Propaganda Ministry. Ribbentrop's liaison man, Hewel, heard of the project and sent the questions from Hitler's headquarters to Ribbentrop. As I recall, there were twenty questions. The interview was then processed in the American Committee of the Foreign Office which set up the answers to the questions. Hitler changed the draft of the Foreign Office.

"He struck out some questions and changed others, and the final result was an interview with eight questions and eight answers. Hitler then gave the interview to Dietrich for publication, and he also gave it to the Foreign Office for transmittal to Washington."

Von Wiegand began his account of his alleged interview with this:

"With the German Armies Nearing Paris, June 14.—'The Americas to Americans, Europe to the Europeans.' This reciprocal basic Monroe Doctrine, mutually observed, declared Adolf Hitler to me here, not only would insure peace for all times between the Old and New Worlds, but would be a most ideal foundation for peace throughout the whole world. In caustic language, with scorn and indignation, he denounced 'the lies' that he has or ever had in 'dream or thought' played with the faintest idea of interfering in the Western Hemisphere by any manner or means. He characterized America's fears of him or Germany as most flattering but 'childish and grotesque,' and the whole idea of the possibility of the invasion of the United States from Europe by sea, air, or the mythical 'fifth column' as 'stupid and fantastic.'

"With his great German war machine, whose amazing perfection of organization, strength, strategical, and tactical leadership has startled the world, now on the edge of Paris, Hitler told me he had no intention of attacking

the beautiful French capital if it remains an open city like Brussels. Vehemently the Fuehrer denied he ever had or even now has, as a war aim, the smashing of the British Empire."

In the body of the account under the heading "Monroe Doctrine View," there are these lines: "At no time has Germany had any territorial or political interests in the American continent," Hitler declared. Then, with rising voice: "Nor has Germany any such interest now. Whoever states anything to the contrary is lying deliberately for some purpose. How the American continent shapes and leads its life is no concern of mine, and of no interest to Germany. And, that, let me say, holds good not only for North America but equally so for South America."

Von Wiegand accepted this material although any informed person must have known about Nazi penetration not only in the United States, but especially in South America.

The account went on to quote Hitler as saying with sarcasm: "The so-called 'fifth column' conveys nothing to me because it doesn't exist except in the imagination of fantastic minds or as a phantom created by unscrupulous propaganda for obvious purposes. If competent governments drive their peoples into war and they then experience pitiable collapse, it is understandable that they prefer to shift the responsibility elsewhere."

Von Wiegand says he asked Hitler whether it was one of his aims to destroy the British Empire. Here is the purported reply which von Wiegand gives: "It never has been my aim or intention to destroy the British Empire," the Fuehrer vigorously declared. "On the contrary, just before the outbreak of this war, which I reiterate was launched by Britain and France, I submitted proposals to the British Government wherein I went to the length of offering the armed assistance of the Reich for safeguarding the British Empire."

The account not only talked about the "great German war machine," but also quoted Hitler as saying with "emphatic finality" that "America's intervention in the European war in the way of mass deliveries of aircraft and other war materials cannot affect the outcome of this conflict."

The Hearst papers and the Washington Times-Herald, Chicago Tribune, and New York Daily News prominently carried von Wiegand's story. The Times-Herald gave the story these headlines: "Hitler Disclaims Any Desire to Invade This Hemisphere—Terms 'Fifth Column' Fears as Stupid; Denies Aim to Smash British Empire"; and

stated: "This remarkable interview by Karl von Wiegand is published not only as a matter of newspaper enterprise, but of historical importance."

Viereck gave a copy of the Times-Herald containing the von Wiegand alleged interview to Dennett with instructions to have it inserted in the Congressional Record. Dennett got ex-Congressman Jacob Thorkelson (a notorious anti-Semite from Montana) to do the job. Of course, Thorkelson added some appropriate comments of his own. He stated that although the Hearst papers and the Times-Herald carried the story, "other papers are trying to lead this nation into another foolish war."

Thorkelson's extension of remarks received the title "The Danger of Invasion." His office ordered 5000 copies which were mailed out under his frank.

Viereck also gave a copy of the issue of the Times-Herald containing the alleged von Wiegand interview with Hitler to ex-Senator Rush D. Holt, and asked him to read the von Wiegand story. He assured Holt that it was a fair estimate of the war situation.

A Propaganda Interviewer

The leading practitioner of the interview technique of influencing American public opinion is Henry J. Taylor, who via the use of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, the North American Newspaper Alliance, *Reader's Digest*, the March of Time and nationwide radio hookups has reached probably ten times as many million Americans with his reactionary views as all the liberal writers and radio commentators combined.

Nevertheless, in all the years in which Mr. Taylor has addressed an immense stratum of the American people his employers and sponsors have never, so far as my files show, told his millions of readers and millions of listeners who he is and what he stands for.

It was the Count De Maistre, champion of the papacy, who insisted that no man not a member of his church had the right to criticize that institution unless he first answered the questions: "Who are you? For whom do you speak?"

If, therefore, the Scripps-Howard chain, NANA, *Reader's Digest* and the Mutual Broadcasting Company, the Blue Net-

work (now known as the American Broadcasting Company), General Motors and the *Saturday Evening Post* were ethical in their presentation of the Taylor voice and the Taylor writings, they would in every instance say who he is and for whom he speaks. They would say that:

Henry J. Taylor is a very wealthy businessman, the president of Package Advertising Company; director of Anemostat Corporation, director of the Skol Company which makes a drug product, and a member of the advisory board of the very important Chemical Bank & Trust Company, all of these facts being available in Poor's Register of Directors and Executives.

If this introduction were used millions of Americans would then know where Mr. Taylor's treasure was, and could justly surmise where his heart was. They would then understand why the European fascist dictators who have suppressed the labor unions (among their diverse terroristic and at times bloody acts) have always been made the heroes of Mr. Taylor's writings, and why Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal in America have been made the villains.

It would also help to understand the man if the sponsors quoted the following, one of the scores of similar items all dealing with the same person and corporation:

For release in morning newspapers of Friday, January 25, 1946.

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION
Washington

COMPLAINT (5416) (Bread Wrappers)

The Federal Trade Commission has issued a complaint charging Henry J. Taylor, trading as Package Advertising Co., 240 Park Avenue, New York, with unlawful use of patents and so called license agreements as a means of fixing and maintaining uniform zone prices for printed waxed paper bands used by the baking industry as a part of the wrappers for bread and cake . . .

The respondent compels the licensee manufacturers to enter into the so-called license agreements and to observe and maintain uniform zone prices by threatening them with patent infringement suits. . .

As a result of the respondent's practices, the complaint alleges that a substantial number of bakers have been required to buy printed waxed paper bands from the licensee manufacturers at excessively high prices . . . and that the respondent is thereby obtaining a monopoly. . .

The FTC issues its complaints, stipulations, schedule of hearings, and other items for the American press almost every day in the year. These items, which are official and libel-proof, have named almost all the important corporations—and advertisers—in America. A large number of them deal with certain advertised drugs harmful to the health of the American people. Nevertheless, because these corporations advertise and thus pay the American newspapers, no less than 1,740, or more, of the nation's 1,750 daily newspapers suppress the FTC news items. This fact is part of any indictment of a nation's press, at least 99 per cent of which suppresses the news to suit its pocketbook.

At the time Mr. Taylor was attacking the Roosevelt regime and New Deal (which was suing his company as a monopoly) and the National Maritime Union, Sidney Hillman, the CIO Political Action Committee, and others whose liberal philosophy was opposed to his interests, he was also publicizing Franco of Spain, Salazar of Portugal, Ryti of Finland, Marshal Petain, Admiral Darlan, and lesser leading figures in the history of our time, the majority of them reactionaries or fascists.

The first Salazar interview was headlined over five columns of the *New York World-Telegram* (December 3, 1943), the editor referring to the head of the Portuguese regime as "the quietest dictator in Europe," not as a "fascist dictator," and stating that "his strength comes from balancing Portugal's finances rather than from secret police, an army or politics."

The second Salazar interview Taylor published was in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 19, 1944, the editor also omitting the descriptive adjective "fascist" before the noun "dictator," and the author emphasizing (on page 48) that "within one year after he took office, Portugal's budget was balanced for the first time in the nation's history." Mr.

Taylor attempts to explain the one-man dictatorship by quoting someone to the effect that it is authoritarian, not totalitarian, and he attempts to defend its political philosophy by saying that the words democracy and freedom "are so differently understood in Portuguese that their use there involves a positive confusion."

There is of course no mention in the two interviews of the shipment of wolfram (tungsten) to Hitler by the fellow fascist dictator Salazar, and other war materials which were used to kill Allied and American soldiers.

The story of Portugal's balanced budget is one of the oldest hoaxes in modern Europe. It is a fraud first perpetrated by Mussolini and first exposed by Professor Gaetano Salvemini of Harvard. Ralph Fox, the gifted British writer who had a safe, successful and brilliant literary career ahead of him but who chose to give his life on the battlefield of Spain fighting Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, and Salazar, explained the Portuguese fraud in his last book (*Portugal Now*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1937). He wrote: "He [Salazar] claims to have balanced the budget, an operation almost unique among present-day states. It is odd that the League of Nations Annual returns Portugal with an unbalanced budget. The contradiction is explained by the ingenious device of Dr. Salazar of splitting his budget into two heads, 'Ordinary' and 'Extraordinary' expenditure."

By this device the United States Government, spending more than 200 billions for the war, would also produce a "balanced budget." It could show a favorable balance on the domestic budget, while its "extraordinary" budget for the war would show a deficit of more than 200 billions.

Fox concludes: "After all, in a budget which contains practically nothing for education, nothing whatever for health services or social insurance, very little for agriculture, and less for industry, you can afford to spend freely on armaments and police."

Ralph Fox was not an economist—a term used most frequently in introducing the reactionary journalistic efforts of

the president of the Package Advertising Co. and director of various other corporations. Professor Salvemini is a teacher of history, not an economist. Unfortunately both Fox and Salvemini were never able to reach more than a few thousand readers with their exposés of one of the greatest frauds of modern history, the balanced budgets of corrupt fascist dictatorships.

Mr. Taylor concludes his *Saturday Evening Post* interview with a glowing eulogy, the usual bucket of whitewash reserved for reactionary leaders. "An intellectual figure . . . vastly respected. . . He stands on no balconies, he rides in no parades, reviews no troops. . ." But this is not new. The interviews with Salazar, all using similar paragraphs of praise, all mentioning scholarship, the balanced budgets, the lack of militarism, have been appearing in the European press without cessation for almost two decades. Here is just one example. It is from *Le Journal* of Paris, is dated March 22, 1937, and under the headline "*Un Entretien avec le Président Oliveria Salazar*," it begins: "*Un dictateur, le président Salazar? Main non, voyons: il n'a pas d'uniforme.*" (A dictator, the President Salazar? But no; look, he wears no uniform.)

The important point about this—and the majority of the Salazar interviews printed in the continental European press—is that they are all paid for by the Portuguese propaganda bureau, whereas in the United States and Great Britain the interviews are obtained by persons who participate in the reactionary ideology of this dictator and do him a service gratuitously.

As for the attempted explanation of fascist dictatorship, all the whitewashers and apologists are shown up for what they are by Salazar himself. In his book, *Doctrine and Action*, which may not be a *Mein Kampf* but which is nevertheless a confession, the premier writes:

"We are anti-parliamentarians, anti-democrats, anti-liberals, and we are determined to establish a Corporative State. . . [Note: Mussolini established the first corporative state,

the fascist regime of Italy.] To believe that the liberty of the people is linked to democracy or parliamentarism is to be blind to the evidence which the political and social life of every period of history affords."

And to a non-Anglo-Saxon interviewer, Antonio Ferro, to whom he did not have to keep alive the myth that his dictatorship was different, Salazar said: "Now, obviously, our dictatorship is similar to the fascist dictatorship in its strengthening of authority."

The great test of the fascist type of dictatorship is of course its relation to the majority of people, the farm worker, the poor peasant, the laborer and labor unions, but this also is a subject avoided by almost all American correspondents abroad—liberal and reactionary, friendly and unfriendly. If any reader has access to the files of any newspaper, or to its morgue, or to any library which has the *New York Times* yearly index, he will be able to confirm this statement. He will find few if any news items dealing with the Portuguese agrarian problem, or the status of workers, their standard of living, their wages, or their civil liberties or their dignity as human beings. To get at the truth he will have to read the liberal-labor press, both American and foreign.

He will find, perhaps, many items proving that Salazar is little better than his more bloody colleagues and ex-colleagues in his treatment of labor. He may find this little item which shows that a form of slavery for workers actually exists under the regime popularized and lauded by the March of Time, the Scripps-Howard chain, the scores of big newspapers subscribing to NANA, the millions who read the *Saturday Evening Post* and other media which manufacture public opinion:

The Portuguese Ministry of War has decreed that the Coal Mining Company Sao Pedro de Cova and the Coal Company of Douro is to be mobilized on June 14th. From this date all workers employed in these mines in the last three years will be called up. Other classes not covered by this decree are men above 48 years, men working in other coal mines, men who are unfit, as well as detainees about

to be sentenced. These mines will be militarily organized in brigades. The brigades will be under a Ministry of War representative.

From the date of their mobilization employers must provide full board for their employees, the price for which will be deducted from the workers' pay. . . All personnel will be subject to military law. . . Mine workers must not leave their place of work.

We have heard so much in the past about the benevolent paternalism of the Portuguese Dictatorship that this manner of dealing with miners who were objecting to absurdly low wages will come as a shock to some people. This official decree, however, is not so much an exception, but the customary method employed by good dictator Salazar. . . Salazar conscripts only the miners, not the mines.—*Tribune*, London, June 18, 1943.

Neither Mr. Taylor nor many others who have favored Salazar have reported that in the House of Commons on October 26, 1943, Labour Party spokesman George Strauss asked that despite the fact the Salazar regime gave the Allies bases on the Azores, Salazar be stopped from supplying Hitler with vital war materials, which had increased from 180 tons in 1940 to 2,000 tons in 1942.

None of the foreign correspondents who has interviewed Salazar and written in favor of the Portuguese dictatorship has mentioned the Portuguese Legion, the 25,000 soldiers Salazar sent to Spain to fight alongside Hitler's men and Mussolini's men. The omission is the more notable because the majority of foreign correspondents has so often reported Soviet Russian troops in Spain, a news story which could never be substantiated because the best the Russians could do was to get some 700 technicians and officers through the Allied blockade which was maintained with the non-intervention pact—the supercolossal piece of hypocrisy of the century.

Nor will very many correspondents mention the massacre at Badajoz and the part Salazar played in that.

Luce's March of Time glorifying Franco was heard by ten or fifteen or twenty million Americans, so the advertisers and the pollsters claimed, and even if only 10,000,000 listened,

how effective would be a rebuttal to the pro-Franco statements made by the same Henry J. Taylor as it appeared in the New York newspaper *PM* (January 28, 1944) with its circulation of less than 250,000? This is but another piece of evidence to illustrate the charge that while it is true that we do have some good and honest and ethical newspapers, and while the liberal viewpoint—and more frequently the truth—is oftentimes published in our press, the reactionary viewpoint and frequently many untrue statements reach ten or twenty or a thousand times as many persons.

The *PM* rebuttal, headlined “Taylor-Made Yarns About Spain,” is here reprinted in full:

Henry J. Taylor, Scripps-Howard foreign correspondent, last night broadcast an apologia for Franco over the *March of Time* program (NBC). Debunking is in order. Following are some of Taylor’s statements and our answers:

Taylor: “Franco is now attempting to reshape Spain from a pattern agreeable to a victorious and powerful German neighbor to a pattern agreeable to United Nations victory.”

Answer: Why is Franco doing this? For democracy? No. Taylor himself supplies the answer. “For now it is clear to Spain that the United Nations will win the war.”

Taylor: “Inmates in Spanish prisons have been reduced from 300,000 to approximately 30,000.”

Answer: A Bulletin just published by Catholic Basque exiles in the U.S.A., may partly explain this reduction. It shows that hundreds of imprisoned Basque priests have been executed. That’s one way of reducing a jail population.

Taylor: “Franco . . . intends at some time to restore the former dynasty to the throne of Madrid.”

Answer: Just why this makes everything hunky-dory is not known. The Spanish people voted for a Republic and forced King Alphonso to abdicate.

Taylor: “German agents are not as numerous.”

Answer: What are even a few German agents doing in “neutral Spain”? But Taylor’s statement is flatly contradicted by Harold Denny, himself an apologist for Franco, who said in the *N.Y. Times* last Jan. 17, that “heavy new increments of German agents have been pouring into Spain in recent days.”

Taylor: “The Falange, once thoroughly endorsed by the Germans, is being scuttled.”

Answer: Franco's recently approved national budget tripled the allocation to the Falange—from \$15,400,000 last year, it is \$47,500,000 for the coming year.

Taylor: Spain has no reason to stooge for Hitler because "Spain has paid off her debt to Germany (for aid given during the civil war), chiefly with mineral products."

Answer: In other words, we ought to accept Franco because he sends minerals to Hitler with which to make munitions to kill our men.

The Franco interview was one of the very few instances in which both the propaganda was exposed and the facts challenged. The Salazar interview was challenged by *In Fact* (September 18, 1944), and Taylor's interview with President Risto Ryti of Finland was the subject of severe criticism by the *New Republic* (October 16, 1944).

The apologists for the American newspapers, the chorus led by *Editor & Publisher*, usually point to these small instances of challenge as proof that we have a free press in America: the other side also gets a hearing. (The chorus swells at election time, when eighty, ninety, or ninety-five per cent of the press goes Republican, and when ten or twelve entire states go through a campaign without a single paper supporting the Democratic party.) The Taylor interviews (and other propaganda) disseminated by the very largest mediums of mass communication, Scripps-Howard, NANA, Blue Network, *Saturday Evening Post* and *Reader's Digest*, reach a possible 50,000,000 American adults, while challenges of fairness or veracity cannot possibly reach more than 500,000, and an official document demanding a retraction is entirely suppressed.*

Years ago an American philosopher wrote that "the reactionaries are in possession of force, in not only the army and police, but in the press and schools." If you add the magazines to the newspaper press, and include the radio and

* The War Emergency Board protest to the Federal Communications Commission and the Blue Network, charging the Taylor statements regarding the National Maritime Union were "inaccurate and false"; published in full in *In Fact* May 15, 1944 and mentioned in the *New Republic*, October 16, 1944.

March of Time as well as the lecture platform, the situation is even more tragic and onesided and the case of Henry J. Taylor even more illuminating.

Enemy Propaganda

In 1945—and continuing until the present—the foreign correspondents sent their newspapers a series of interviews with the leaders of the defeated fascist nations, Germany and Japan.

This paralleled in a way the great series of interviews with Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Von Tirpitz, Admiral Scheer and others of the defeated Kaiser's army which the correspondents sent from 1918 to 1920.

But the difference is important—and in the light of the cold war it is significant. Hindenburg, for example, told the present writer in the great scoop interview of Armistice week, 1918, that the American Army won the First World War by supplying the comparatively small element which upset the balance of military power. That was honest news. Admiral Scheer told the present writer the secret of the Battle of Jutland, or as he preferred to call it, Skagerrak, and that was honest news also. In fact, the Scheer interview was obtained as a complement to the official, secret and suppressed report on Skagerrak made to the Kaiser which this correspondent (thanks to his assistant Sigrid Schultz) had obtained for the *Chicago Tribune*.

The interviews of May 1945 to date, however, are propaganda interviews in which leading Nazis do three things: they attempt, with the aid of the American press, to whitewash their bloody crimes and they attempt, also with the aid of the American press, to keep the left, liberal, or radical elements from getting control, and again with the aid of the American press, whip up American public opinion for a war against the Soviet Union.

For example, there is the interview with Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk, the acting prime minister of Nazi

Germany in the last weeks of the war, in which he warns of "a big political swing either to left or right" unless he and his group are permitted to participate in the Allied governmental machinery. Inasmuch as he represents the right, it is an interview aimed against the left, or the liberal element in Germany—the first of hundreds of similar interviews on the three foregoing subjects.

Here is an example of the more recent style: the headline in the *New York Sun*, January 27, 1949, reads:

WARNS OF GERMAN WAR BY REDS

Gen. Schreiber, Once With German Army, Predicts They
Would Drop Microbes From Sky if Hit by A-bombs.

The prediction turns out to be nothing more than an interview which correspondent Gault MacGowan had requested of the former major-general in the Nazi medical corps.

The series of Japanese interviews began in August 1945 and were so continuous and so propagandistically directed against America's ally that the Associated Press reported on September 22nd from London that the British radio monitor had recorded a Moscow broadcast accusing the same AP of aiding the Japanese war criminals. The broadcast continued:

"Strange as it may seem, the Associated Press seems to be sparing no efforts in helping the Japanese criminals who are awaiting trial to make speeches in their defense."

To this the AP attached a footnote saying: "This apparently referred to interviews with prominent Japanese carried by the AP and others. American military authorities have imposed no restrictions on such interviews or on public statements by prominent Japanese."

Thus it came about that within a few days of the close of the war against the most murderous regime in the world, and its ally in the East, the American press was flooded with a series of front-page interviews disguised as news items, which apologized for the criminals and began the direction of hate against one of the three great powers which had fought and

at least temporarily destroyed the Nazi-fascist movement in the world.

Not all the interviews were sinister; those which were not were merely irresponsible, but both types marked the beginning of disunity of the victors, the beginning of the still unnamed cold war.

It is also important to point out that both before and after the Second World War the persons chosen for interviews by the European and other foreign correspondents of the big British, French and American press were almost all leaders or notables of the Right—and the Right goes all the way to Naziism and Fascism. There are, for instance, a dozen big “scoop” interviews with Chiang Kai-shek—the United Press placed full-page advertisements in *Editor & Publisher* boasting of one of them—but although interviews with the anti-Chiang forces are possible and have been obtained and published, they are so few and have appeared in so few papers that the public still does not know even the names of the generals and political leaders of the winning side in the Chinese civil war.

Franco has been interviewed scores of times, but the big press of Hearst, Howard, McCormick and the like do not obtain and print interviews with the heads of Left states, communist or non-communist.

The Case of Marshal Tito

The following episode will illustrate still another circumstance in the documentation of the interview as an instrument for propaganda and especially for molding reactionary public opinion.

Tito was, next to Stalin, the biggest name in communism. In August 1948, the time of the Danube Conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, of the hundred foreign journalists who arrived at least ninety admitted they came to get the story of the Tito-Cominform rift and an interview with Tito rather than the foregone conclusions of the meeting itself.

Of their two objectives, they were fairly successful in only the first: a document was found which supposedly had been smuggled into the country, which not only criticized the Yugoslav Communist Party but declared one of Tito's closest friends and his aide and interpreter on notable occasions was in reality a British Foreign Office spy; and there were one or two similar "hot" items which matched the tropical weather of Belgrade rather than the frozen atmosphere of the Danube debate.

But Tito was not seeing anyone.

We were all disappointed—the *New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, the AP and UP and the scores of others, and myself. Tito was at his summer home in Bled. But even the three or four, including myself, who journeyed to that vicinity on the halfway promise of the press office, were doomed to failure.

However, the quest for a Tito interview continued. A certain Mr. Olson of California who had talked to Tito, was questioned by the journalists; and so was Konni Zilliacus, M.P., on his return to London at the end of September, and again Mr. Eric Johnston, who presumably had sold Tito some films after a talk of two hours—contents not divulged—which rated a double column head in the *New York Times* of October 5th. Meanwhile speculation continued and Marshal Tito was still one of the most sought-after personalities in world affairs, if not absolutely No. 1 of the world's "news-worthy" of the time.

At this time the United Nations were meeting in Paris, and in the Yugoslav delegation appeared the name of Colonel Vladimir Dedijer, one of the handful of men who had been with Tito from the beginning, in Belgrade where the uprising of the Partisans was planned, and in the field of battle, where he was severely wounded. I had known Dedijer from the time he had been a delegate to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and now that he was head of the *Direkcija za Informacije*, I asked him for a friendly intervention.

It required making the trip from Paris to Belgrade all over

again, not a very pleasant (or inexpensive) experience these days on the once-famed Orient Express, but it was worth everything if a real interview with the Marshal was assured, and Colonel Dedijer promised me that it was.

The great question of the day was War or Peace? The American press talked war. The people of Europe did not talk war, but every man and woman living in the countries which might be the new battlefield, feared it. East and West were rearming. Tito's answer to this question was of world importance.

The Cominform had excommunicated him. The next pertinent question was Tito's reaction to this event, his position, changed or unchanged, vis-a-vis the Soviets and his former allies.

For me there were other important questions: the great Yugoslav land reform (which the Cominform had denounced), the position of the Roman Catholic Church, the economic situation of the country and the future of its 5-year-plan as they were affected by the reported boycott of neighboring nations. I considered these important—perhaps the American press, dedicated largely to sensational news, did not. But there would be sensational news enough if Tito declared himself on the question of war and on the question of relations with Russia.

The Marshal received Mrs. Seldes and myself at his office and spoke to us for more than an hour and a half. He answered every question with a frankness and sincerity which was impressive. He spoke on peace or war, on the Cominform and on his relations to Russia. He answered everything any journalist could ask.*

On returning to Paris immediately I realized that the Tito interview, especially in view of the UN peace and war debates, had a great news value, and that if I kept it until I could publish it in my own newsletter, weeks or a month later, it would lose some of its urgency.

I had no intention to sell the interview, as others not en-

* See appendix for text of Tito interview.

gaged in daily journalism have frequently done in like circumstances, but I did offer it to the Associated Press and the *New York Times* on one condition: that its introduction stated that it was copyright by myself and my newsletter.

But what followed shocked even an oldtimer like myself who thought he knew what is news and how frequently the press prints what is not news as news, which suppresses what truly is news and in other ways plays tricks with the unwritten law of what is and what is not news.

The *Times* asked to keep the story overnight, after I had warned the Paris editor that the *Times* owners and editors had for years more or less boycotted both my name and that of my publication, its advertising manager having stated to my advertising agency that he had an order not even to accept paid advertisements for my books. The *Times* correspondent ridiculed this thought. Nevertheless the next morning I received the manuscript back with a letter from which I quote:

I cannot tell you how appreciative I am for your kindness in bringing your Tito interview to the New York Times and offering us the chance to publish it. However, I regret to say that, after mature consideration, I have decided not to use it.

It is not the kind of interview which contained any very newsworthy statements. Printing a few excerpts, therefore, from this piece, would have little news interest. There is nothing new about Tito's views stating that Yugoslavia is still on the side of the "People's Democracies" and his thoughts on the chances of war and peace.

I am sorry. . .

The Associated Press leaped on this news story. It thought that it was the kind of interview which contained many newsworthy statements, that Tito's views on Yugoslavia's position and on the chances of war and peace were important news statements. Paris correspondent Preston Grover cabled the main office in New York offering it the news quotation on war and on the Cominform, about 800 words.

However, the next day he informed me that the AP had cabled him to send only 200 words—and although I have

seen these 200 words printed in some small newspapers, a search of the great metropolitan press has resulted in no trace of them.

So, apparently, Tito was not news.

But, in its issue of November 1 the *Times*, under a Madrid dateline, and a 2-column head ("SOVIET NO LONGER CAN COUNT ON YUGOSLAVIA AS A SURE ALLY") carries a report from its chief foreign correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, which devotes considerable space to saying the opposite of what is said in my Tito interview. Moreover, Mr. Sulzberger, who had turned down the chance to use my story, adds:

"Marshal Tito has said publicly and has reiterated privately his belief that there will not be a third world war—at least in the foreseeable future. When visitors—and there have been more than one—have questioned him concerning Yugoslavia's position in the event of such a disaster. . ."

The *Times* found a 2-column head and about a column of space for what is known to the trade as a "think piece" about Tito, after it had refused to publish an exclusive statement from Tito on the foremost subject of the day and the year.

As for the reference about "more than one" visitor questioning Tito, this is obviously a smokescreen to hide the fact that Mr. Sulzberger had read not once but several times the interview which I had offered him. Tito had indeed had visitors—many each day, just as President Truman has—but he had not given any journalist an interview before I visited him, nor indeed throughout the whole of the year 1948.

Was Tito news? And did the *Times* and the thousands of newspapers taking the AP service suppress the news? It is a fact that a liberal paper, the late *New York Star*, believed that Tito was so important that when the noted playwright, Lillian Hellman, who had returned from Belgrade after witnessing the premiere of her *The Little Foxes* wrote of a meeting with Tito in which the Marshal had said "he didn't want to do an interview," it was worth a headline on the front page; and more amusing yet was the experience of John

Gunther. He did in fact have a long meeting with Tito, and in his report of it he says:

"He sees reporters from the outside world only very rarely and practically never consents to talk for publication. He is particularly inaccessible at the moment. . . We could not quote him. . . I will abide by the stipulation first set, and give only my 'impression' of what went on, with nothing in quotes at all." And in conclusion: "None of this, alas, am I permitted to quote or allude to except in these general terms—if the interpreter was right."

Well, this famous Gunther story, thousands of words long, appeared in *Look* magazine (November 23rd), was headlined on the cover, was advertised throughout the United States, was quoted in the daily press: but it was not an interview, and nothing that Marshal Tito said was actually quoted. I think it is quite evident from this documentation that Tito was news, and the one and only interview with him that year, following the Cominform rift, was indeed news, and that for certain reasons—which should become clear even to the layman on reading the text of the interview—the American press, which frontpages its Franco and Salazar and Chiang Kai-shek interviews, just as it once lionized Mussolini, did not see fit to print the news in this instance.

As a sort of postscript, here is a half-column item in the *Times* of March 23, 1949, with the heading "YUGOSLAVS VOICE LOYALTY TO EAST," which might have been the heading on the Tito interview it rejected at a time Tito was really news.

Under the headline there appears an interview not with Tito but with a "responsible statesman" in Belgrade. The story itself does not belong to the *Times*, it is a quotation from *Le Monde* of Paris. The "highlight" of the interview is quoted directly: "Yugoslavia is and remains an integral part of the Socialist bloc and could in no circumstances become a link between the two camps." These words are but an echo of the October 1948 direct quote from Tito that the *Times* could have had free of charge.

As a sort of second postscript, here is an instance of another kind of interview which is not used for the promotion of fascism or for fomenting a world war. Quite the contrary. On April 6, 1927, the tenth anniversary of the entry of America into the First World War, Smith Reavis, AP man in Paris, thought it a good idea to interview Foreign Minister Briand, and the idea expressed in that interview became the Kellogg-Briand Pact to outlaw war.

This episode was recalled by *Editor & Publisher* (February 12, 1949) on the occasion of the American press siding with Secretary of State Dean Acheson in his rejection of Stalin's proposal for peace made through the questionnaire interview with Kingsbury Smith of INS. Acheson at the time said that "I would choose some other channel than the channel of a press interview." His predecessor had paid no attention to the Briand interview, but *E&P* notes significantly that "American opinion, in and out of Congress . . . Nicholas Murray Butler (in) a letter to the *New York Times* . . . Unofficial groups" and others took up the Briand idea as given in the interview, and eventually Mr. Kellogg got the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts which followed his acceptance of public opinion.

Similarly in 1949, the interest aroused by the Kingsbury Smith interview had considerable effect in preparing public opinion to influence the State Department toward accepting the repeated offers of another peace conference coming from the Kremlin.

The interview, as the illustrations prove, can be honest and dishonest; propaganda for good and propaganda for evil; it can be news or a hoax, depending on many things, the time, the situation, the man. Interviews can be used by the press to help the movement for world peace, they can be used to favor fascism, hatred, and world war. Generally they are the instruments of reactionary propaganda because for one liberal newspaper in America there are ten or fifty reactionary papers, and therefore the honest interview is rare, the planted interview is common.

CHAPTER FIVE

ORIGINS OF THE NEXT WAR

If everything the world has learned from history, if all the axioms about warmaking continue to be of value, and if the leaders (and misleaders) of men do not recover their sanity very soon, the third world war will come within ten or fifteen years (according to the best predictions) and soon after it begins millions now living will be dead, and buried with them will be the best part of thousands of years of hard-won civilization.

If the day ever comes when a survivor studies the origins, causes, preparations, and predictions concerning the greatest catastrophe in the history of mankind, he may in time write a philosophical treatise to show that the seeds of destruction were planted along with the first seeds of all civilization; or he may do a simple journalistic job of collecting the more immediate facts of the 1940's.

The first of these should be dated June 1941 and should concern the views of the leaders, military, political, and journalistic, of the American Republic, the British Commonwealth, and certain neutral nations, notably fascist Spain.

It was the time the American people were overwhelmingly for peace, more than 70 per cent of them having registered that desire, but despite the efforts of American Nazis, Father Coughlin, Colonel McCormick, and the Hearst press, the

majority also favored the anti-fascist coalition headed by Great Britain.

Nevertheless, in June 1941, when Hitler attacked Russia and thus opened a two-front war which he himself had predicted would prove fatal to Germany, and when the hope of survival was replaced by confidence in victory for Britain, France and other nations favored by the people of the United States, many of the leaders then indicated an attitude which today lights up the motive of the cold war.

Chief of Staff General Marshall (later the Secretary of State who initiated the diplomatic part of the cold war against Russia) went on record anonymously with a prediction that the Nazis would defeat the Soviet Union in thirty days. Marshall called in one hundred Washington correspondents for the purpose of predicting "a smashing German victory within a month." The press credited this news to "high authority"; the AP attached a note to editors naming the authority as Chief of Staff Marshall; the original document is owned by *In Fact*, was published July 7, 1941.

Similar predictions were made by other military experts, columnists, cartoonists, editorial writers, almost all of whom were anti-Russian; and by Coughlin and the native American fascists, crackpots and seditionists, who favored Nazi Germany and hoped for the victory of the Anti-Komintern Axe nations.

Senator Harry S. Truman expressed a view held by many so-called neutrals, a view which caused more suspicion in the minds of America's most powerful future ally than anything any leader or newspaper has said in open enmity. "If we see that Germany is winning," said Senator Truman, "we ought to help Russia, and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany, and that way let them kill as many as possible." (*United States Week*, July 5, 1941.)

The editorial cartoonists, notably J. N. Darling of the *New York Herald Tribune*, drew many pictures showing Hitler and Stalin killing each other, the Nazi and the Russian armies bleeding each other to death, and expressed the hope this would come true.

This was also the policy of the most machiavellian of modern statesmen, Winston Churchill, the chief instigator of the cold war and the greatest promotor of World War III—as we shall soon see.

It was this desire of certain statesmen, nations, and press lords to destroy Russia as well as Germany which motivated the great decisions in the Second World War itself, and made the Third World War a possible (although not an inevitable) result.

There is only one seeming contradiction to the narration of facts preceding the crisis of the late 1940's: the refusal of Winston Churchill to accept the plan brought to England by Rudolph Hess several months before Hitler, to whom he was second in command, attacked Russia. Hess, who was a Buchmanite, and who landed his airplane on the estate of a fellow Buchmanite, the Duke of Hamilton, brought with him a 5-point plan for converting the war into a holy Nazi-Christian crusade against bolshevism—and then dividing the spoils, no less than all of the world except the Americas, among the two Anglo-Saxon nations. (The Nuernberg trial confirmed all this.)

Churchill would not listen. Although he was on record from 1917 on as desiring above all else the destruction of the new Soviet Russian state, and although he was on record as favoring every fascist dictator, ideology, and movement throughout the world—notably endorsing Mussolini and Franco—he disappointed Hitler and Hess by publicly spurning the great idea of May 1941—which had been the great idea of the Hitler-Anti-Komintern Pakt of 1936, and which has become the great idea of the Atlantic Pact of 1949.

The explanation is simple: the man who in Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946 proclaimed the great Christian crusade (or cold war) against Russia, and who has been wholeheartedly a pro-fascist most of his life, was still a British imperialist who, much as he feared the march of communism, feared most the political and economic rivalry of Nazi Germany for control of continental Europe; and he was willing to fight against Hitler first if it were not possible—as it was not for

England—to have Germany and Russia destroy each other, as Churchill's later colleague, Truman, had so clearly expressed it.

However, Churchill, the ally of Stalin and of the 25,000,000 Russian soldiers and civilians who gave their lives to help save the British Empire, also never for a moment during this period of "friendship" ceased to plot the future destruction of his really first enemy.

The decisive year was 1942. This was the year in which President Roosevelt, General Marshall, General Eisenhower, and Premier Stalin demanded that a second front be opened in France, not only to relieve pressure from the Russians who from the beginning to the end did most of the fighting, but to save the lives of American and British troops as well by ending the war quickly.

This was also the year in which Churchill put over an act of propaganda (thanks largely to the Allied and American press) for which he has never before been given the full credit, an act which outdistances and outweighs anything ever charged or credited to the "kollossal" Goebbels propaganda machine.

At a time of insistent demand for a real second front (as revealed in numerous books after the war) Churchill directed a raid on the French bathing resort, Dieppe (August 20, 1942), and made use of the false story of the event as the chief instrument to sabotage the Roosevelt-Marshall-Eisenhower-Stalin proposal which would have won the war a year or two earlier, with not only the saving of millions of Russian lives but the majority of the million American casualties. Many American families who mourn their dead today, and many who have been hurt in limb or body or mind may thank the wonderful Machiavellian mind and the propaganda story of the Dieppe raid for their sorrow.

The official bulletin of Combined Operations Hq. read: "A raid was launched in the early hours today on the Dieppe area of occupied France." The United States Army communiqué read: "In a combined operation raid on the Dieppe area today a detachment from the U.S. Ranger Battalion is

taking part with Canadian forces, British special service troops and a small detachment of Fighting French."

The false headlines in many American newspapers of the time (as for example: "AMERICANS INVADE FRANCE") had no sinister motivation; they were fakes due to irresponsibility and the usual theory that if one American figured in a news item he was worth not only about 100,000 Chinese but at least a thousand British or Frenchmen. As eyewitness correspondent, Quentin Reynolds, reported later (February 3, 1943; WQXR, 5 P.M.) there were more than 5,000 troops in the raid, mostly Canadians, and exactly 40 Americans.

A more significant "error" by the American press was noted by William L. Shirer in his "Propaganda Front" analysis (*Herald Tribune*, August 30). Not only was the American angle overplayed, but "one metropolitan paper with a blaring headline about 'BRITISH AND AMERICANS INVADING FRANCE' enabled Dr. Goebbels to cite it as 'proof' of his major contention in the propaganda battle, namely, that there had been an attempt at invasion after all."

The first reports had been of success. The London *Tribune* believed "Dieppe has stirred the world. . . It seemed to be the ray of hope breaking through the clouds of inactivity. It showed that given air-cover the Allied Navies could cross the Channel and maintain a corridor. . ." Mr. Reynolds had reported the landing as a success. The world—friend and enemy—looked forward to the invasion of France within due military time.

About a month later the following headlines appeared on a front-page news item from Ottawa:

CANADIANS CALL ATTACK ON DIEPPE TOO COSTLY
AP, *Cincinnati Times-Star*, Sept. 18.

CANADA LOST 67% OF FORCE AT DIEPPE
AP, *New York Times*, Sept. 19.

It was a tragic story. "Of the 5,000 Canadian troops who made up five-sixths of the assault forces, there were 3,350 casualties," the statement (of Defense Minister J. L. Ralston)

said. There were 170 dead, 633 wounded, and 2,547 missing. Significantly Mr. Ralston added that "the history of similar operations in the past serves to indicate that heavy losses are to be expected in amphibious operations of this type, directed against a fortified coastline held by a determined and alert enemy." In other words, no attack on Normandy, no second front.

When, on September 30th, Prime Minister Churchill officially announced to the House of Commons that the United Nations losses at Dieppe were "very heavy and went up to nearly half the total force" it was again a front-page item, and in reporting it the *New York Times*' Frank L. Kluckhohn stated significantly that "the Prime Minister's non-reluctance in answering queries put by members might be explained either by his native bluntness or by a desire to let the Allies, including Russians and the American public, know directly 'from the horse's mouth' what the cost of attempting a full-scale invasion of France would be. What Mr. Churchill said in effect was that though command of the air was achieved, the raid was terrifically costly, thus refuting some military theorists who held that if local command of the air could be achieved anywhere a successful landing followed automatically."

No Second Front.

The editorial pages of the American press followed the Churchill line, as usual. Under the heading "Disaster at Dieppe" the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* believed that "any attempt to invade western Europe and crack the defenses which Germany has erected from Norway to the Spanish border would require such a heavy initial loss of manpower that the result might be a defeatist attitude toward further prosecution of the war. . . . On this basis, a general assault against the continent, if it involved only 750,000 troops, which is a low estimate, would result in a casualty list of 500,000. Is the public in the United States and Britain prepared to pay this price for a second front—remember that this would be only the down payment with further heavy instalments due from then on?"

The *Times* (November 18) began its editorial with the statement: "Now, as German troops begin to be withdrawn from the Eastern Front for use in France—Ankara reports that as many as 42 divisions are involved." This Ankara report was of course absolutely false, as were all the reports, from Ankara and elsewhere, of 1942 and 1943 and also 1944 and even 1945 of the withdrawal of the German forces from Russia. (And incidentally, so was the Ankara report of 1948 of the massing of Russian troops on the Yugoslav border, which the AP later admitted was a falsehood.)

After commending Mr. Churchill, as it had done for decades in the past, and agreeing with his views, the *Times* said that "we share completely Mr. Churchill's belief that 'a dozen Dieppes on one day, and a couple of Dunkirks a week or two later, would not have helped Russia'" and concluded with the Churchillian thesis (made for political purposes, directed against Russia, and entailing the loss of American lives) that not a Second Front but "the alternative plan of a strong attack delivered from North Africa 'at the soft underbelly of the Axis,' has far greater promise of success."

At this time those who spoke or wrote for the second front either out of friendship for Russia or for purely technical military reasons, or because they believed it would shorten the war and save American lives, were attacked in the press, labeled with "red" paint, noted by the Dies Committee for Un-American Activities.

When the truth became known, early in February 1943, the Allied press paid little attention to it. There had been stupidities about the Dieppe raid; there had been no dive bombers; a wrong town had been attacked, but these things were unimportant. What was important is the fact that there were no heavy losses, no 67 per cent casualties, no reason for the second front of 1942 not being established if Dieppe were the test. The Canadians had lost only 170 men dead in the fighting. They claimed they had 2,547 "missing" and this is also true inasmuch as the Germans claimed they had taken 2,500 prisoners. These 2,500 were not lost in the capture of

Dieppe, they were lost because there was no intention to remain there, and no adequate provision for leaving. If Dieppe had been the first objective of an advance into France it would have cost 170 dead and 633 wounded out of 5,000, or a comparatively small casualty list. Authority for these facts is Lieutenant-General McNaughton, Canadian commander of the expedition, who permitted the following quotation:

“We went to Dieppe with the intention of re-embarking. If it had been planned as another sort of operation there is no doubt that we could have made the thing stick. We could have stayed put; the Germans could not have driven us off.”

The Churchill propaganda statement in using the Dieppe experience against a Second Front won the day and delayed the winning of the war—for political purposes.

After his conference with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, President Roosevelt had stated forthrightly and for publication: “We agreed on the urgent tasks of opening a second front.” In London a Labour M.P. (Aneurin Bevan, later Minister of Health in the Bevin Government) demanding action in 1942 which he said would win the war that year, bitterly attacked Churchill, saying “Hitler is more lucky in his allies than Stalin is in his. Hitler’s allies are fighting. Stalin’s allies are not. . . . If Stalingrad falls and the Russians are driven back beyond the Urals the working class people of this country will be asking why, and there will be no use of the British Prime Minister telling us that military considerations make it impossible.” (UP, Sept. 10).

But on September 30th the front-page head in the *New York Times* again read: “CHURCHILL HUSHES SECOND FRONT TALK.”

A few days later Henry C. Cassidy of the Moscow office of the AP got the questionnaire he had submitted to Stalin answered. This was one of the “scoop interviews” which was not disguised. The head of the Soviet Union, unable to get the promised military help, and no doubt aware of the Churchillian plan to let his nation bleed to death before opening the Second Front in France, decided to use the world press as

a lever, and did so through the agency of the prepared interview. Wrote Stalin:

“. . . I am confining myself to a brief written answer to your questions.

“One: What place does the possibility of a second front occupy in the Soviet estimates of the current situation?

“Answer: A very important place, one might say, a place of first-rate importance.”

The answer from Churchill came about a month later. The *New York Times* of November 12, under the headline “INVASION ACROSS CHANNEL IS PLEDGED BY CHURCHILL” reported from London that “the moment Germany becomes ‘demoralized’ by Allied pressure in Europe and Africa, she will be struck by invasion across the English Channel or the North Sea, Prime Minister Winston Churchill promised the House of Commons today.”

It is scarcely necessary to repeat here the truth about this great Churchill-Machiavelli falsehood; the men who have told it in full are Captain Harry C. Butcher (*My Three Years with Eisenhower*), Lt.-Col. Ralph Ingersoll (*Top Secret*), General Eisenhower (*Crusade in Europe*) and Harry Hopkins in Robert Sherwood’s volume, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. The fact they are all agreed on—that the military had decided a second front in France would be successful (the chief military action sabotaged by Churchill)—is also confirmed by no less an authority than the Nazi Dr. Goebbels who wrote in his diary:

March 3, 1942. At 4 p.m. I drove up to Goering’s home. . . He is somewhat worried about our having pretty much stripped the West in order to bring things to a standstill in the East. One dreads to think what would happen if the English and the Americans were suddenly to attempt a landing.

September 10, 1943. . . The Fuehrer is somewhat worried lest the English now attempt an invasion in the West. While we have very strong lines of fortifications, there is behind them nothing but a thin veil of reserves. . .

The Fuehrer expected the Anglo-American invasion at-

tempt to come in the Netherlands. We are weakest there. . .

We cannot face such a situation with absolute assurance and preparedness. . .

The Fuehrer believes it would be easier to make a deal with the English than with the Soviets. (*New York Times*, March 22, 1948).

Churchill—not the British people nor the better part of the British press, and certainly not British labor—prevented the winning of the war in 1942 or 1943, the historians now agree; and this revealed truth must be emphasized in order to understand the cold war which followed.

Journalist Ingersoll bluntly accuses the Churchill policy: “The profitable percentage on Russian lives lay in the fact that the longer the Russians fought, the weaker the Russians would be at the end of the war and the better chance the British had, vis-a-vis the Russians in the postwar struggle for the domination of Europe” (page 68). The diplomatic Eisenhower, a little less openly but more authoritatively, denounces the Churchill interference with the war. He writes: “Although I never heard him say so I felt that the Prime Minister’s real concern was possibly of a political rather than a military nature. . . I did insist that as long as he argued the matter on military grounds alone I could not concede validity to his arguments.”

The politician won; the generals, notably Marshall and Eisenhower, lost; and with the postponement of the attack in France for more than two years, millions of lives were lost in order to create a political situation on V-E day which would favor the imperial Churchill policy.

The Press vs. the Second Front

The powerful chain press of America (notably the Hearst, Howard, and McCormick-Patterson newspapers)—never mentioned by name in the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press but known to everyone in the profes-

sion as the chief defendants to the indictment (irresponsibility; vulgarization; warmongering; failure to serve society)—is also the press which had either published Nazi propaganda before the war, or favored appeasement of Japan, or published a War Department document which Hitler cited as one of his reasons for declaring war, or generally favored the reactionary, even pro-fascist side at home and abroad.

This press, although aimed at the lowest intelligence level, although yellow and sensational and despised by intelligent people, is nevertheless a great power in the making of public opinion; and when the attempt was made in 1942 to go over the heads of the statesmen and generals to enlist popular support in Britain and America for a quick and powerful war effort to shorten the war and win it with little loss of lives, the chain press took up the fight against the second front.

The big attempt was made by Wendell Willkie, as representative of President Roosevelt, during his visit to Moscow. His instrument was the American Press Association. Willkie demanded "a real second front in Europe, with Britain, at the earliest possible moment our military leaders will approve." Significantly he concluded: "And perhaps some of them will need some public prodding. Next summer might be too late." (*New York Times*, September 27.)

Hearst's *International News* replied from Washington that Roosevelt had "rebuked" Willkie "indirectly," and that Senators Connally, Willis, and Wheeler had condemned the Willkie effort. Patterson columnist John O'Donnell's item was headlined "Willkie's Plea Not Worth While: F.D.R." Howard's *Cleveland Press* said "if Willkie was trying to pressure Churchill into action, it would have been more straightforward and effective to say so, rather than go through the absurd hocus-pocus of asking the public to dictate strategy to the generals." But the UP on October 9th reported that F.D.R. believed that "Willkie was carrying out his mission extremely well."

Public opinion cannot be made without newspapers. One

of the largest groups of organized people in America, the CIO, with more than 5,000,000 members, did its best to follow the Willkie advice to "prod" the leaders. Its fifth convention (as reported by Federated Press, the news service for more than 100 labor publications) denounced in one resolution the McCormick *Chicago Tribune*, the Patterson *New York Daily News*, the *Washington Times-Herald* and the entire Hearst press, and in another resolution urged a second land front in Europe.

The Howard chain, still known as the Scripps-Howard papers, were not condemned by labor because they had not shown a fascist bias as had the Hearst and McCormick-Patterson chains; but inasmuch as these papers, once democratic and organs of the Democratic party, had switched to reaction, labor-baiting, and the yellow journalism hardly distinguishable from that of its rivals, they too joined in the Churchill propaganda against the second front. For the record, here is a sampling of items from Howard papers:

"Air power . . . a decisive striking force constituting in itself a second front"—July 23, 1942. (Churchill, Seversky and others who opposed the decisive blow on land, also propagandized the air blow, which was immediately credited with great victories most of which later proved exaggerated.)

"Members of the armed forces . . . seamen . . . are being used in the high-powered drive by the American communists to force an immediate second front by political pressure."—Frederick Woltman, the *New York World-Telegram's* chief redbaiting writer, August 19, 1942. The red label and the Moscow tag was one of the effective means used by the reactionary press in this, as in other instances, to short circuit possible public opinion.

"We doubt if any public figure has, since the outbreak of this war, uttered a statement so ill-advised, or advocated a course so weighted with danger and possible disaster," said the *Cleveland Press*, on September 28th, referring to Willkie's suggestion of "public prodding."

"The current communist party line, as indicated by Mos-

cow's local Charlie McCarthys, Earl Browder and Israel Amter, calls for a popular clamor for an immediate second front. It is a line by which the public may very easily be tripped up."—*World-Telegram*, September 22. (But this was the Willkie line, and the W-T was for Willkie.)

October 9: a Scripps-Howard cartoon by Talburt showing a confused globe on which were a dozen signs such as: "A second front in Egypt! Win With Willkie" and "A second front in Pogo-Pogo! Win With Willkie!"

"Our 'second front' in Northwest Africa seems to have relieved pressure on Russia quicker even than the most optimistic hoped."—editorial, *World-Telegram*, November 13. This statement was false; nothing relieved the pressure that year, nor any year.

Captain Patterson's *News* said editorially (September 25, 1942) that the second front move was "soapbox-strategist," agitated by "domestic communists. . . in Union Square, New York. . . Assorted politicians and radio commentators have renewed their demands for a second front at once." It concluded that the matter must be left to the military. On June 28, 1943 it opposed the second front, saying "the cost of such an attack would be immeasurable in blood and suffering."

The Hearst press lived up to its description by historian Charles A. Beard: in this, as in most editorial campaigns ordered by Mr. Hearst, it "raked and exploited" all the "cess-pools" and none of its dredgings need be brought to light here.

The columnists (who have replaced the editorial writers largely as makers of opinion) helped the campaign. A particularly astute reactionary, Felix Morley of the *Wall Street Journal*, actually hinted at the truth about the matter. "One fact in particular," he wrote on July 25, 1942, "indicates that the war is, rightly or wrongly, regarded as less critical in both Great Britain and the United States than it is the case in Russia. That is the failure, in spite of much talk and exhortation, to establish a second front. No matter how great the risk of disaster, that diversion would be attempted this

summer if either the British or ourselves were wholly convinced that the German menace will later be as great for the democracies as it is today for Russia."

Columnist Simms harped on the cost: "The job of creating a real second front will be a terrifically bloody one" he wrote (September 24, 1942) and called the raid on Dieppe "the latest example" of losses in an amphibian attack.

Columnist Pegler thought (October 7, 1942): "That matter of the second front is one that should be discussed only by men who know the military facts and can measure the chances, but inasmuch as our communists have tried to stampede our military men we ought to remind ourselves of a few facts." The "few facts" which follow are the usual tirade against Russia this hoodlum-minded columnist repeats several times a year.

On September 8, 1943 he wrote that "one significant note in the clamor for an attack by American and British men on the French Channel coast is the loud silence of the American people" and "few if any of those who cry for the so-called second front have any intention to take a personal part if the attempt is made." Two weeks later he attacked "Second-front Joe Curran, the fair-weather sailor . . . an uncommonly bloodthirsty advocate of an assault by American men on the Channel coast of France." All the opponents emphasized the heavy loss the landing would entail, none mentioned the probable casualties ten or twenty times higher in a long war.

Columnist Sullivan attacked "public clamor." Among his columns are two headed:

"Emotional Approach Regretted in Discussion of
Second Front" August 5, 1942

"Postponement of Second Front Called Wisest
Course to Victory" October 14, 1942

The late Simeon Strunsky who wrote the Topics of the (N.Y.) Times column stated (September 10, 1943) he was bewildered by Stalin's request for a second front which would

take 60 divisions off his back, "when actually the Allies are pulling 230 German divisions out of Russia—namely, the whole German Army." Although this statement was proved false within a few days, it was not corrected.

Columnist Sokolsky declared (January 8, 1943) that "my own sympathies are with the idea of knocking the Japanese out first," a theory, like the air power theory, advanced by one or another group opposed to the promised decisive blow of 1942 or '43.

Other columnists, editorial writers, cartoonists, headline writers and the editors who choose the items to play up (or down) joined in the clamor against the clamor for a second front. The foregoing are but a few of the thousands of examples in the writer's files. The situation was so acute that the United Press reported from Moscow on October 22, 1942:

Vladimir Krushkov, secretary of the Soviet Information Bureau, charged today that William Randolph Hearst and Col. Robert R. McCormick, American newspaper publishers, and the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin have taken "every step to suppress the increasing demand for the opening of a second front."

Krushkov . . . claimed that in the United States there also were people who sympathize with the "Munich Men" of England—"people like Hearst, Coughlin, McCormick and others who take every step to suppress the increasing demand by American public opinion for the opening of a Second Front. . ."

In Britain, however, the American spectacle was not duplicated. Lord Beaverbrook (the *Daily Express*, *Evening Standard*) once a staunch defender of various fascist regimes, was the first of the Churchill supporters to declare for a military and not a political decision on military matters. Addressing the American Newspaper Publishers Association (April 23, 1942), he asked the support of the American press (in vain) for the second front; the great London *Times* "hitherto cautious" in this matter, as its American namesake had it, made its decision on September 28th; and Lord Rothermere's

Daily Mail—once filled with propaganda and interviews favoring Mussolini, Franco, and other fascist dictators, and in 1942 strongly opposed to the attack in France, became “increasingly second-front conscious during the past two weeks” according to *PM* of January 12, 1943. Only Viscount Camrose among the British press lords held out against the action. “Only a very innocent person can fail to discern political opinions masquerading as military objections,” wrote “J.H.” in the *New Republic* (September 14, 1942) regarding Press Lords Rothermere and Camrose; “their military objections spring from their fundamental beliefs as to what the war is about, and how it should be fought. They hold that the war is essentially a struggle to defend the British Empire and the social status quo against aggression and/or revolution. . .

“It seems equally obvious to these Tory circles that we should appease Franco, half appease Vichy, and seek the support against fascism of reactionary groups in Europe leading to some clerical monarchist, military big-business combination to step in when fascism falls, and defend the social order.”

In the light of the historic record since 1942 it is clear and evident that:

1. Churchill directed the war for political purposes;
2. The Churchill plan was to bleed Russia to death, or to weaken Russia so much that Britain would come out the chief victor in the war;
3. This Churchill plan delayed the second front for three years;
4. This delay cost the Allies millions of lives—Russian mostly, but also a large part of the American 1,000,000 casualty list;
5. The attempt to enlist American public opinion for the best military plan to win the war quickly was sabotaged by the American press;
6. The main basis for World War III was laid by Churchill in this action in 1942.

CHAPTER SIX

FORCES BEHIND THE WAR SCARES

“Unless we can ignore all of the warnings of our atomic scientists who for three years have been eating their hearts out trying to tell us that another war would mean the destruction of western civilization, a peaceful way out must be found.

“The American press as a whole is not helping us find that way.

“Instead, the majority of American newspapers and radio commentators are in the vanguard of those who are rapidly convincing a majority of the American people that war is the only solution.

“It is the press which has made popular a number of facile phrases to define the world situation: iron curtain, cold war, plans, doctrines, ideologies, communism, and the like, sedulously avoiding the use of the one phrase—power politics—which comes closest to describing what really is going on . . .

“I hold that the American press is falling down on its job lamentably by not combatting these anti-democratic trends at home; that, as a matter of fact, a large section of the press is aiding and abetting the hysteria.”

It was on the occasion of Newspaper Week, 1948, that Pro-

fessor of Journalism Curtis D. MacDougall addressed the University of Colorado with these words of warning. (See Appendix 3 for the major portion of this speech.)

It was also at a time the newspapers branded as "red" anyone who "echoed the Moscow line" that there was "warmongering" in the American newspapers; nevertheless it was the *New York Daily News* which defied its colleagues and played right into the hands of the "enemy" by using this headline in its May 2nd issue: JOURNALISM PROF FINDS PRESS WARMONGERING.

Professor MacDougall's speech, but a small episode in the war over warmongering, was considered important enough by the AP to put on its wires from Boulder, Colorado, to all clients in America, nevertheless in the nation's metropolis it was considered either insignificant and thrown into the wastebasket, or significant and therefore thrown into the wastebasket. At any rate, only the *Herald Tribune* and the *News* published it. The *News* is usually devoted to moronia, but Professor MacDougall teaches at the Medill School of Journalism, an institution endowed by the late owner of the *News*, Joseph Medill Patterson.

Certainly no more authoritative statement on the great wave of fear, hysteria and warmongering could have been made by anyone. It was the year 1948, a peak if not the climax in a journalistic campaign which the American people surely do not realize began during the war itself and ran parallel to the military and diplomatic maneuvers for World War II described in the preceding chapter. Their coincidence is apparently not coincidental.

The first person to take official note of the situation was the Vice-President of the United States. He had heard the rumble in 1943 which two years later was to turn into subterranean thunder and four years after that monopolize the headlines of the press of the world—the rumble of talk of World War III. In a public address in March 1943 Vice-President Wallace said:

"We shall decide some time in 1943 or 1944 whether to

plant the seeds of World War III. That war will be certain if we allow Prussia to rearm either materially or psychologically. That war will be possible in case we doublecross Russia. . .

“Unless the Western democracies and Russia come to a satisfactory understanding before the war ends, I very much fear that World War III will be inevitable.”

This view was shared by the conservative London *Times* and the liberal *Manchester Guardian* which believed that “there is a hundred times more anti-Russian feeling in the United States now than there is in this country, and much more tolerance for fascist systems of government.” *Time*, which quoted the foregoing (March 22, 1943), began its report by stating that “the views of Vice-President Henry A. Wallace cannot be labeled as the views of the U.S. Government”; and unable to explain what the term “doublecross” meant, suggested that Wallace feared that after the war reaction “would make the U.S. fascist and anti-Russian.”

Some time later *Time* published a letter to the editor from a reader who had “not actually encountered any of the loose talk of a third world war” until a certain evening when an Army officer told him that it was “no secret that the American Army is facing the probability of a war with Russia when the ‘present’ war is over.” (*Time*, May 24, 1943.)

There was still no sinister war talk. There was talk, but it was deplored by a press still patriotic, still fighting the common enemy, Nazi-fascism, alongside of the Soviets.

The Nazis, failing to switch the war in 1941, began to plan the “final conflict” which they alone could not lose, even if most of civilization was destroyed. “Even if we are defeated this time, we shall fight a third war—and win,” Rudolf Hess was quoted by *Reynolds News* of London (November 7, 1943) and on the same day Charles Duff, a former official of the British Foreign Office, wrote in that weekly (under the heading, “Nazis Plan Now for Third Blood-Bath”) that Hitler had made “a blueprint for defeat” as well as one for

victory, and that he foresaw the conflict but not the speed with which the nations would approach it.

Actually the first open talk about World War III with a revived Nazi Germany on the side of the United States and its democratic allies began a few weeks before the enemy surrendered. In his April 4, 1945 Washington Merry-Go-Round column Drew Pearson was able to report that "already blocs in our State Department and the British Foreign Office have begun jockeying to build up Germany . . . as a bulwark (against the Eastern bloc)." The *New York Post* accused Pearson of "loose talk of a possible war between us and Russia." This was a fortnight before the Nazis surrendered Berlin.

A few other significant World War III items dated before the surrender:

March 30, 1945 the AP reported the State Department had photographs of German documents for "well-arranged post-war plans for the perpetuation of Nazi doctrines and domination," one important item being "renewals of prewar cartel agreements."

March 18, 1945 *PM's* I. F. Stone reported the War Department had evidence of the secret meeting August 10, 1944 of "a group of Nazi officials and industrialists . . . concerned with preparation of World War III." Stone pointed out that the AP man with the U.S. Army in Belgium sent a short item which appeared in the *New York Times* but failed to report the fact that in this meeting "U.S. big business firms were mentioned and plans outlined once more to draw them into collaboration with German industry."

Stone gave the full story "in the belief that the public has a right to know a good deal more than it does about Nazi plans which may cost the lives of more American boys a generation hence."

Among the U.S. prewar affiliates via cartels, etc., of the Nazis in this World War III plot were: U.S. Steel's subsidiary Carnegie-Illinois, Alleghany Ludlum, Crucible Steel, Beth-

lehem Steel, Republic Steel, Timkin Roller Bearings, American Rolling Mills.

One month before the Germans surrendered, the State Department issued a very important document. Here is the opening paragraph of the news item in the *New York Times*, April 8, 1945:

WASHINGTON—The State Department said tonight that it had “ample evidence” that German leaders were planning for conquest of the world through a third world war and it promised that this country in conjunction with our Allies would do everything possible to stop them. . .

I. G. Farben was named as assuring foreign partners that cartels would be renewed.

A few days before the surrender Federated Press issued a report from its correspondent, Herbert Klein, at the command post, 15th Army Corps, showing that captured German officers and men and civilians interviewed by intelligence officers agreed that the Nazis were united in forecasting a conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The Nazi attitude is summarized as follows: (1.) The Yanks made a terrible mistake; (2.) The Nazis were defending western civilization against eastern barbarism; (3.) If the U.S. doesn't save Germany it will have to fight the Russians alone “pretty soon”; (4.) If the U.S. and Britain help Germany, the Nazis will fight Russia in the next war. The date of this report, delivered by bomber, was just five days before the surrender.

In almost all instances, it will be noted, the news—very important news too—was given not to the world but to the readers of a certain newspaper, or a certain columnist, and in the case of the Federated Press, the comparatively small labor press.

During the great San Francisco conference at which a charter of peace lasting for generations was supposed to be written and the United Nations created to preserve that peace, an important part of the press and radio joined with certain gentlemen in our State Department in a series of actions which gave rise to more war talk than peace talk. The

great newspaper chains, which had more than hinted years earlier that the United States had chosen the wrong side in the war, notably the Hearst papers, Scripps-Howard group, and the McCormick-Patterson family group, treated the event as if it were the dress rehearsal for World War III instead of the last curtain for the fall of fascism. Correspondent Stone noted that "this is a conference for the organization of an anti-Soviet bloc under our leadership. [Some] are reckless enough to think and talk in terms of a third world war—this time against the Soviet Union. There were Argentine and Polish issues injected into the conference by Secretary of State Stettinius and Nelson Rockefeller for the purpose of making trouble, not peace." Stone suggested that the public's attention be aroused "to stem dangerous undercurrents which have the greatest potentialities for the future." (*The Nation*, May 12, 1945.)

It was all very well to rouse *The Nation's* thirty-odd thousand subscribers; but the Hearst-Howard-McCormick-Patterson chains reach more than a fourth of the American people with their daily circulation and their syndicated news, columnists, cartoons, and editorials. "The correspondents who write the truth reach a few people," *In Fact* commented at the time; "The correspondents for the . . . axis propagandizing for another world war for this generation, reach the millions. A large part of the press is deliberately linked with the plan for a new war."

On the diplomatic side, nothing was more provocative than the invitation extended to the Peron fascist dictatorship to participate in the conference. A member of the House of Representatives who could not be named then, or now, sent the present writer the following message regarding this event:

"Nelson Rockefeller is responsible for the entry of Argentina to the San Francisco Conference. He has revealed in an off-the-record talk to Congress the real reasons for this move. Speaking to a group of key House of Representatives members last week—he flew back from San Francisco for an Ap-

appropriations Committee hearing—Rockefeller boasted that the American delegation had tied up the whole Latin American delegation AGAINST Russia. He said: 'We have to keep Argentina in the world organization as a bulwark against communism.' "

Stettinius's contribution to the peacemaking was to break a confidence regarding the arrest in Moscow of a group of 16 Polish leaders about which he and the Soviet representative, Molotov, were arguing. The story was permitted to "leak" to a newspaper, thus giving Mr. Stettinius an excuse to call a press conference on the matter at which he could hand out a statement—in the absence and without the knowledge of the Russian delegate. Stettinius had referred to the persons arrested as "democratic," although he himself knew (since he so informed the journalist on whom he planted the first story) that the Moscow Government had accused the sixteen of installing and maintaining illegal radio transmitters in the rear of the Soviet line in wartime, and other acts costing the lives of more than 100 Red Army officers and men. Later on a spokesman for the Polish Lublin regime named two of the sixteen as notorious fascists and anti-Semites. But the damage had been done—as planned. The press was used, to a great extent willingly, to inflame the American people with another "atrocities" story, a hate-making story in time of peace-making.

On the other hand, when one of the few columnists with a large following tried to inform the public of the plan to build up Germany for the new war he was suppressed by most of his own newspapers—not an unusual happening—but this time on the advice of his own syndicate.

The date was April 25, 1945, notable in history for the opening of the United Nations Conference on International Organization, "designed to draft a charter to insure all nations against war." That afternoon the Bell Syndicate, one of the biggest in the country, began sending its more than 100 big newspaper clients a series of articles by Drew Pearson who had come to report peace and had found plans for war.

This series was so important that after it was suppressed it was inserted into the Congressional Record and thereby became available to every newspaper, client of the Bell Syndicate or not, and incidentally also libel-proof, thus short-circuiting any excuse a newspaper might have for suppressing the names of the House of Morgan and other sacred banking institutions protected throughout history by a venal press.

However, the exposés were not printed even when made free to all—except by *In Fact* (May 14 and 21) which also exposed the Bell Syndicate's method of suppression. (The importance of this news may be judged from the highlights reprinted in the appendix.) The syndicate had attached a note to the Pearson series saying "You may wish to substitute one of the other Pearson columns you have on hand in its place." This was the first intimation of a new journalistic trick practiced by newspapers which buy columns because they attract readers and nevertheless suppress those which differ with editorial policy or offend the thousand Americans who rule or control the nation.

It had been common knowledge that Hearst's *New York Mirror*, for example, used Pearson (although it hated him) because the Merry-Go-Round meant thousands of subscribers; but sometimes it suppressed the entire column, and more frequently it published only a few paragraphs, and on occasions items appeared under the usual heading which differed from those in other Pearson newspapers. Now the secret was out: Bell Syndicate—and probably others—had their writers prepare innocuous columns, the usual attacks on the man-eating sharks, which are kept in reserve by cowardly publishers for days in which they suppress the real news.

In placing the entire series in the *Congressional Record* (May 1, pp. A2170-72) Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas said:

"Mr. Speaker, Drew Pearson has written three important articles on the San Francisco Conference which should be read widely. However, the press of the nation has seen fit to suppress the last of these articles—one telling of the dealing

by American banks with the Nazis after Pearl Harbor. I am informed that this article was suppressed at the insistence of J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Chase [National] Bank.

“Mr. Speaker, the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech guaranteed under the Constitution must not be trampled upon by private interests. . .”

Reading through the items now they seem more significant than they did in 1945, when the chief point was suppression by the press of news because it involved the Morgan and Chase banks and the leading big businessmen who rushed, in uniform, to do business with the Nazis. Today that interest has increased because of the past years' historical events in Germany and especially in the Ruhr, which make speculations about World War III more a dread reality.

The suppressed items begin with the blunt statement that “actually the seeds [of the next war] have already been planted, but the roots are not deep and they can be torn up.” (Unfortunately, the roots grew deep and strong, thanks to the aid of the politicians, the military and the press.) The American State Department and the British Foreign Office are accused of “jockeying to build up Germany after the war as a bulwark against Russia,” and the men—generals, admirals, bankers—are named and their activities exposed. J. P. Morgan & Co., the Chase National Bank, Dillon, Read & Co., and other bankers had built up the first German Republic and continued to help the first Nazi Reich, thus making the Second World War an inevitability; and now the bankers in uniform were invading the liberated areas of Germany and planning, with certain generals and certain State Department officials to build a new German state which would be an ally in a new war against that Russia which at the very moment was destroying the Nazi armies in the East.

The reader must put himself, if possible, into the shoes or undershirt of a European—and not especially a citizen of the U.S.S.R. or the Eastern nations allied with it—to realize what this news means overseas. Especially to a citizen of France. Because the days of “*mieux Hitler que Blum*” are

gone, and gone forever, and even the Cagouards and Pétainists and other fascists who once preferred Hitler in Paris to the middle-of-the-old-road Socialist Blum, won't stand for a new reactionary Germany, built up as Hitler's Reich was built, with the loans and investments of the great American bankers. And this was the news from the San Francisco Conference called to form a United Nations: that American industrialists and bankers and speculators, many in uniform, were already engaged in activities in Germany which forewarned of World War III—and that war, as every European knows and fears, will be fought on his land and in his home.

The European who is interested in world affairs (and a much larger proportion than Americans is vitally interested) knows from reading his newspapers—the American newspaper reader may be entirely ignorant of this—that the Nazis planned for the Third World War, and that many great happenings and a thousand or more minor ones all point to the eventual operation of the Hitler plan, by which Germany, at least western Germany, is now being prepared to be a leading Western ally. The final proof is the Ruhr agreement. No matter what safeguards have been taken, no matter what promises to France and Britain have been made, all Europe knows that anything short of destruction, dismantling, socialization or nationalism means the revival of the Ruhr, and the revival of the Ruhr means a reactionary Germany which will be a major force in the next war.

Nazi Germany was defeated early in May, and late that same month the situation had so deteriorated that the leading conservative daily, the *New York Herald Tribune*, was able to ask editorially of certain persons and certain powerful newspapers: "Is it war they want?"

On May 29th this journal named as warmongers Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce, the Knights of Columbus, and "several newspapers of large circulation" which it did not identify but which were easily recognizable as the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News* and the entire Hearst chain.

Commenting on a statement by Representative Luce and a New York K. of C. Council resolution, both suggesting war on Russia, the *Herald Tribune* called them "a miasma of words, insinuations, fears, behind which they can always escape from any responsibility for what they say"; and it accused them of "poisoning the air."

On June 5th Roy Howard's United Press cabled from Moscow that "the Russian Army newspaper *Red Star* charged today that a hostile foreign press, including prominent American newspapers, was trying to prepare public opinion for war between the Western powers and the Soviet Union." Roy Howard's *World-Telegram* said nothing more to identify the newspapers. But the same dispatch appearing in another daily (the *New York Times*) revealed that the UP had named names and that the *World-Telegram* had suppressed part of its own news service. The full cable quoted the Moscow paper saying "that the *New York Journal-American* had stated that the 'Red wave threatens to drown Christian civilization'; that the *Chicago Tribune* had asserted that the 'Soviet Union is the only aggressor in the world,' and that the *New York Daily News* had exhorted Americans to be prepared against a Russian invasion of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands." All this within a month of V-E Day! Commented *Time* (June 11, 1945): "Last week the possibility of World War III was more and more in the horrified world's public eye." It was a purely journalistic horror, and while the Mexican and Turkish press had some part in it, it was almost entirely what the military call an American "show."

The soldiers in the field did not share in the warmaking campaigns. When Senators Wheeler of Montana, Hawkes of New Jersey, and Capehart of Indiana on June 4th tried to incite an audience of American soldiers at Red Cross headquarters in Italy, there was an uproar of resentment which followed immediately after Hawkes had asked the men how they felt "about finishing the job by fighting the Russians." (Only Milton Bracker of the *Times* cabled the story of this episode; but a few days later John Chabot Smith of the

Herald Tribune cabled a complete report, the notable part of which was the GI's angry response to Wheeler's attack on Russia.)

Stars & Stripes wrote an indignant editorial which began: "When Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in his recent Los Angeles address assailed that American minority which has been whooping up talk of a war with Russia, he voiced a sentiment which finds quick response among American fighting men. For some reason which we find a little hard to understand at this distance, a certain vociferous group within the American press and public has already started talk of a war with Russia. It seems a good time to evaluate our own position. . . ." The rest of the editorial was a protest that the GI's and the Red Army men were friends, the diplomats could keep the peace, that the "screaming headlines" in the American press were "diabolical and warlike gestures . . . playing directly into the hands of the warmongers."

Pfc. John C. Thomas who sent this editorial from occupied Germany on to the *Herald Tribune* (July 29, 1945) added that it was "an expression of the millions of men over here, on the question of Russia."

Another voice of protest was that of the Methodist Federation for Social Service whose *Social Service Questions Bulletin* (November 1945) stated that "the prevailing U.S.A. newspaper attitude leads one to question to what extent the press of the United States is committed to a policy of systematic sowing of the seeds of fear, suspicion, and hatred whose ripe fruit may be World War III. From the Hearst press, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and certain others, on the basis of past records, this might be expected. But that various newspapers of a different character would lend their columns to deliberate fomentation of suspicion and ill-will is deeply disturbing."

In the following year the war talk became general. Again, as during the fighting years, and in the month peace was made, there were a few newspapers, a few columnists, a few radio commentators deploring the situation, exposing the

fomenters of hate and eventual war, whereas those who had access to the vast amorphous body of public opinion were successful in their sinister plans.

One of the very few good newspapers in America—one of the one per cent of the press always on the side of promoting “the general welfare” and exposing its enemies—was *PM*, founded in 1940 by Marshall Field, and produced at a loss of about \$1,000,000 a year for eight years. On February 24, 1946 one of its leading writers, Blair Bolles, told *PM* readers—some 150,000 New Yorkers as contrasted to 2,500,000 daily buyers of the *News* and 1,800,000 of the two Hearst newspapers—the real story of the fight in Washington for the control of public opinion in the Russian situation. The two men who shaped the attitude of President Truman, wrote Bolles, were Secretary of State Byrnes and his personal chief of staff, Admiral Leahy. Wrote Bolles:

“Leahy also feeds the anti-Russian feeling that is sweeping the country by discrete use of newspaper columnists, the latest of whom to enter his camp is Drew Pearson. Pearson in 1943 provoked President Roosevelt to call him a liar after Pearson had accused Secretary of State Hull of unfriendliness toward Russia. Now, however, Pearson through the intercession of Constantine Brown, the most effective of the Russo-phobe writers, is passing on the wild fears of Leahy to his millions of readers. . . . The pressure on U.S. opinion to take an alarmist view of Soviet actions is so strong that the prospects for Congressional approval of the loan to Britain are going up in inverse ratio as the standing of Russia in America goes down. . .

“The view of Russia as an imperialistic state anxious to establish control over the Mediterranean regions as the first move toward dominating the world is fomented by the NCWC (National Catholic Welfare Conference), which fears that the progress of Russia is injurious to its religious interests. . .

“The alarm in public opinion has a serious practical effect on the conduct of affairs between the USSR and the U.S.A.

because they raise unfounded suspicions in each country about the attitude of the other. The suspicions are so exaggerated now that the peace conferences originally fixed for May are being postponed because the current mistrust in Russia of the U.S.A. and the readiness of U.S. opinion to brand any agreement with the Soviet Union as 'appeasement' make agreement difficult to attain."

Although Pearson—who according to radio polls reaches 7,500,000 with his Sunday broadcast—was placed in the Constantine Brown Russophobe group by Bolles, he is nevertheless on record (as for example his column of March 29, 1946) as being on the side of General Eisenhower and a *modus vivendi* for peace. Pearson wrote that "it's no secret that there's been considerable talk among the brass hats in the Pentagon building about war with Russia. . . . However, there can be no doubt about the views of . . . Eisenhower [who] was attending a Washington dinner party when people began to talk about war with Russia. Irked by the conversation, he remarked that he was 'amazed that so many people should suddenly be seriously considering the idea of war with Russia.' Then the chief of staff proceeded to give a pointed lecture on the foolishness of this war talk, which can be briefly summarized as follows:

" 'People who want war should only think a few minutes about the sacrifice Russia has made. . . . A people who have suffered such a loss will not turn tail before any military force in the world today. But at the same time they will not go out and look for another war. And neither will we. . . . We have nothing to gain to start with, and would have nothing left when it is over.' "

But the Washington bureau chief of the Gannett newspaper chain wrote that "I expect my son to fight in the war against Russia."

Every Washington correspondent early in 1946 knew about the great military maneuver, Operation Musk-Ox, in which the Canadian Government tested weapons and materiel for a possible war across the Arctic Circle and against the Soviet

Union. Five American Army observers were assigned to the venture. But no one reported it, until March 11th, when the associate editor of *In Fact*, Victor Weingarten, was given the evidence by a noted radio newsman temporarily off the air. In May the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver reported that 68 per cent of the American people expected the U.S.A. to fight another war within the next twenty-five years.

The country was talking war in 1946. The newspapers were talking war. The radio was talking war. For examples:

CALL BIKINI REHEARSAL

FOR WORLD WAR III

—United Press, July 30.

RUSSIANS OBSTRUCT PEACE, STELLE ASSERTS;

LEGION HEAD URGES U.S. END 'APPEASEMENT'

—*New York Times*, July 29.

U.S. HINTS IT WILL USE

ATOM AS A 'BIG STICK'

—*New York Post*, August 29.

BYRNES HITS RED'S WAR TALK

—8 column streamer,

World-Telegram, August 9.

NAVY SAILS ANY SEA WE DAMN PLEASE!—HALSEY

—*New York Daily News*, August 29.

These were not ancestral voices prophesying war, but the press and radio and military officers and politicians favoring war; and there were few voices for peace.

Brig. Gen. Elliott Roosevelt syndicated chapters from his forthcoming book, *As He Saw It*, in which he charged that F.D.R. had been betrayed and as a result there was all this talk in Washington of war with Russia "preferably before 1948." The Roosevelt policy was abandoned, Elliott wrote, because of the "get tough with Russia" policy, a demand he

traced to Senator Vandenburg and the Hearst, McCormick-Patterson and Roy Howard newspaper empires.

Columnist Harold Ickes said it was "disquieting that newspapers, public officials and private citizens in this country so frequently indulge in the dangerous opinion that a war with Russia is imminent. Highly placed military persons discuss such a prospect openly. Certain of the press harps on the theme. . . . Some people seem to cherish the idea that there will be such a war, and the sooner the better." (August 26). Noted war correspondent (and a leading Catholic liberal) Quentin Reynolds told a WJZ audience, August 11th, he felt "contempt" for the group of newspapers trying to inflame our people against Russia. When the stock market cracked up on September 3rd, financial columnist Sylvia F. Porter said that the crash was due to "talk of war, depression."

In all these instances the great newspaper press and the radio commentators collaborated with officials, military and diplomatic, whose business it was to alarm public opinion for a twofold purpose: the long range was of course the 'inevitable' war, but the short range was universal military service, conscription in peacetime, the War Department budgets, and similar "defensive" necessities. The columnist Marquis Childs nailed only one of these many adventures in the drumming up of war fevers; on December 30th he wrote that "with the year's end the War Department has been staging a series of spine-chilling off-the-record press conferences on the menace and horror of another war, when radio-activated dust and bacteria of a new degree of deadliness will rain down on cities and towns. It is no coincidence that this comes at this particular time. Soon requests for appropriations will go up to the new Congress. Policy-makers in the War Department are fearful that the great American public, and with them their representatives in Congress assembled, will settle back into comfortable, somnolent indifference of the pre-1939 years." The War Department, State Department, Admiral Leahy and others were manipulating public

opinion through the press—and with the consent and collaboration of the press.

Some Anti-Warmongering Forces

The chances are certainly ten to one, or more, that the reader of these words is a liberal and has a remembrance of newspaper editorials he has read and radio addresses he has heard in protest of the war-inciting campaign. If he has confined himself entirely to the liberal press he may indeed be under the impression that the forces for peace and against warmongering were quite powerful in the recent past. Unfortunately, the liberal press and the liberal voices on the radio influence one person in ten or twenty, as compared to those which are irresponsible and frequently sinister.

"Fear of war is rising throughout the United States," Gallup reported on April 28, 1947; "more than seven in every ten voters polled by the [American] Institute [of Public Opinion] say they think war is likely within 25 years. Five out of every ten think it may come within 10 years. This nervous attitude about present world conditions, with no peace settlement among the major powers, underlies many other basic American attitudes on current issues." Seventy-three per cent of the population feared war; only 18 per cent did not.

There were as usual a small percentage of newspapers and members of Congress trying to sweep back the tide of hysteria. But . . .

"During the debate in the Senate on this vital question [military aid to Greece and Turkey which he had called "A military strategic plan which must eventually end in war unless the people stop it"] it was almost impossible to get a word into the press against this cynical doctrine of peace by force of arms. I don't know what motive impels the press to support this road-to-war program, but they are certainly doing it," said Senator Glen Taylor (ABC network, April 24, 1947).

And Senator Pepper: "I am not going to become so sensi-

tive all of a sudden as to take up the cause of every former enemy and to say that Russia is the greatest enemy we ever had. Russia has not yet killed any American boys that I know of in any war upon this country, nor in any other time in our history.

"To read what certain newspapers say and what certain commentators say one would think that there had never been an enemy of ours which was as dangerous, as devastating, and as deadly as Russia. There are some who say 'Let us today build up Germany again against Russia.' My God, how many American boys in one generation have the Germans killed? Yet today I hesitate to think of the number of people who will take the side of the Germans, who are criminals convicted by the nations of the world, if the Russians happen to be on the other side.

"Mr. President, we have got to reappraise this situation. We have got to remember who were our enemies in the war and who were our friends." (*Congressional Record*, April 17, 1947.)

When in June the reactionary editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, H. L. Mencken, declared "I'm in favor of war and hope it starts soon," columnist Jimmy Cannon, former soldier and member of the *Army Stars & Stripes* staff, answered him in the liberal daily *New York Post*:

"You listen to the radio and they are talking about another war. . . . You meet a guy who is close to you and he tells you he found his wife weeping in the nursery because this time the radio said the war will reach New York. . . . You are confused and you can't separate the truth from the lies . . .

"You remember when the war was almost over and they were surrendering in division strength, and some of them seemed surprised when we wouldn't let them enlist in our Army to fight the Russians. . . . A young SS major who had been on the German General Staff . . . was proud of being a Nazi and he was baffled because they were wasting his talent as a soldier by not using him against the Russians. You told him that day that the Russians were our Allies and we had

no war with them and this amused him. The major said this was the time to destroy them when they were weak and we might never have the chance again.

“ ‘He says,’ the interpreter said, ‘America will have to fight Russia some day.’

“But now people who are your friends are saying what the SS major said. But they’re not telling it to you through an interpreter. . .”

A rare liberal editor of the million-circulation magazines, Edgar Snow of the *Saturday Evening Post*, wrote an article “Why We Don’t Understand Russia,” which one of the editorial writers of the only metropolitan daily fighting the war fever hailed as “the first break in the massed anti-Russian front which our press has been building hysterically ever since V-E Day.” (Saul Padover, *PM*, February 16, 1947.) On March 31 Mr. Padover commented that a friend, an American correspondent just back from Europe, remarked that “this country is at war!” and “was bewildered and frankly scared by the war talk and hysteria that he found here.” In explanation Mr. Padover discussed the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. “Foreign affairs,” he wrote, “are now of primary and immediate interest to every human being in the United States. Matters of war or peace determine not only the climate of general opinion which affect our nerves and our individual security, but also our hopes, our plans and our personal relationships. . . . These are elementary matters that may have a life-and-death importance to every single citizen. But how have the press and radio handled them? Did they make a determined effort to give the people the full-bodied and reasonably unbiased truth of the world situation? I think that the overwhelming majority of the channels of communications showed themselves, at a time when cool brains and objective facts were needed, to be prejudiced and irresponsible. The few exceptions, particularly in New York, do not in any way disprove this allegation.”

Who could be more irresponsible than the *Chicago Tribune*, the largest standard-size newspaper in the country, which in June, celebrating the beginning of its second century, asked whether it would not be a good idea to declare war on Russia right away, win a quick and easy and cheap victory with the atom bomb.

“Possibly we ought to destroy the Stalin government while we can,” editorialized the *Tribune*. “It could be done within 48 hours with terrifying results. . .”

The *Chicago Sun* replied: “We were quite sure the *Tribune* would get around to this position in time. In one sense it is a useful development, for it brings into the open what some people have been saying in private and what others have been secretly thinking. Here is the doctrine of the preventive war—naked, brutal, amoral, unconscionable. . .

“We have got to stop this mad talk of war. We have got to stop pursuing policies which have meaning only in terms of war.” (Quoted by Rep. Adolph Sabath, *Congressional Record*, June 16, 1947.)

The *Tribune* had a million circulation, the *Sun* only one third that number, but outside a few of the biggest cities of the nation the percentage of reactionary paper circulation to liberal is not 10 to 3 or even 10 to 1, but more often 50 to 1 and sometimes any figure at all compared to zero.

Several attempts were made to sensationalize statements by the chief of staff, General Eisenhower. For example, here are the headlines on one news item:

(A)
(1-column)
ARMY ‘POOR
SECOND’ TO
RUSSIA’S FORCE,
SAYS EISENHOWER
General tells Senators
House cuts would en-
danger safety of the
U.S.
War “Possible” in a
Year

(B)
(1-column)
EISENHOWER
SAYS ARMY IS
‘POOR SECOND’
Compares it to Rus-
sia’s as he urges Sena-
tors to restore fund
cuts
Doesn’t exclude pos-
sibility of ‘48 war but
doesn’t expect it

(C)
(6-columns)
IKE: WAR BY ‘48
POSSIBLE
(2-columns)
Eisenhower Sees U.S.
Army ‘Poor 2nd to
Reds’

Head A is from the *New York Times*, head B is from the *Herald Tribune* and head C is from the *Bridgeport Herald*, which newspaper should not be criticized for it: it is a legitimate head based on the sensational news story it received from the United Press, which read:

WASHINGTON (UP)—Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower said yesterday that war is “possible” in the next 12 months and this country’s army is a “poor second to Russia’s. . .”

The *Times* and the *Herald* do not have a million circulation between them, but the UP serves several thousand papers including its own Scripps-Howard chain, Latin America and Europe, as well as hundreds of radio stations. It chose to sensationalize the news and it succeeded.

Its rival, Hearst’s INS, had done the same thing with the Stassen interview with Stalin. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* of May 4, 1947 had an 8-column headline:

STALIN TO U.S.: COOPERATE OR—WAR!
Stassen Discloses Moscow Talk Details

The press as usual cooperated with every politician and general who wanted to make the headlines either for sensational or budgetary reasons. On July 18, 1947 Representative Charles A. Eaton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee made the statement that “we’re in sight of a shooting war at this minute,” which provided a fine yellow headline; on March 26th Admiral Nimitz provided the *Times* with the headline “WAR PLANS READY FOR AN EMERGENCY, NIMITZ TESTIFIES”; June 5th Senator Eastland of Mississippi, as reported by the UP, provided the headline “EASTLAND SAYS NEW COUPS MEAN WAR WITH RUSSIA”; and May 8 furnishes this item:

CHALLENGE TO SOVIET CHEERED IN HOUSE

WASHINGTON, May 8 (UP)—House Democrats today loudly applauded a challenge to Russia “to make the most of it” if she believed the \$400,000,000 Greek-Turkish aid bill to be “a declaration of War.” The challenge was made by . . . Rep. Chester E. Mellow (N. H.).

On May 29th General Somervell in an address to the National Industrial Conference Board, one of the many big business organizations originated entirely or with the aid of the National Association of Manufacturers, called for industrial mobilization, saying "the atom bomb and the probable combination of foes we may have to face present a pattern in which a final world war is not only a practical possibility but a probability." He named the enemy as "a United Soviet Socialist Republic of Eurasia."

General Spaatz joined the war talk. According to Drew Pearson's June 15th broadcast over WJZ-ABC network "fifteen senators had a very important luncheon at the War Department last week with General Spaatz, head of the air forces" who told them "that previous estimates of possible war with Russia had been revised. Instead of possible war with Russia in 10 or 15 years, the Senators were led to believe that judging by the rate of Soviet military preparedness, war could be expected within one or two years."

"President Truman," *United States News* revealed on August 8th, "in a brief session-end meeting with a group of Democratic members of the House, remarked four times that the American people did not know how near they are to war"; and the lapsed-liberal columnist William Philip Simms under a *World-Telegram* headline ("WORLD WAR III ALREADY HAS BEGUN, EUROPEAN INFORMANTS TELL SIMMS") reported from Vienna that "the next 12 months will be as critical for Europe and the world, and perhaps as decisive, as any faced in modern times." He reported that everyone is talking about World War III. Inasmuch as Simms mentioned Prague among the capitals he visited, and inasmuch as neither then or later was there any talk of a Third World War in Prague, according to the resident correspondents, the Simms piece can be listed under the general heading "warmongering."

General Mark Clark, praising the war record labor had made, told delegates to the AFL 66th national convention it "must be prepared to do it again," but he gave no immediate date. *PM*, fighting the war move and the warmongers, leaned

over backwards several times with a department called "The Other Side." It quoted, for example, the organ of big money, the *Wall Street Journal* (August 13th) asking "if we were willing to go to war to save Europe from Nazi domination, does not the inexorable logic of our own behavior demand that we be willing to go to war to save Europe from Soviet domination?"

"This is a brutal statement of a brutal fact. . ."

Toward the end of the critical year warmongering seemed to have passed perihelion—or nadir—and some sane voices could be heard calling for sanity.

One of the most notable was that of Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago who had supervised the work of the Commission on Freedom of the Press which had published the warning that American newspapers could endanger the peace of the world. "Hutchins upheld Soviet UN Delegate Andrei Vishinsky's charges against the American press, with the statement that 'most anything anybody says about the American press would be justified,' " the UP reported—(*Los Angeles Daily News*, October 22, 1947). Chancellor Hutchins was almost alone in America in defending Mr. Vishinsky who on September 18th had delivered in what the *Times* called "language of a violence never heard before from the rostrum of an international organization," his famous anti-warmongering speech in which (quoting the *Times* of the 19th) "he lumped together such diverse personalities as John Foster Dulles . . . the Morgan, Rockefeller and Ford interests, Yale University, the 'notorious' American Legion and many others."

The Vishinsky charge was followed by numerous Soviet demands that some action be taken on an international scale to stop dangerous warmongering. Alexander Kendrick reported to the *Chicago Sun* from Moscow (September 30) that those engaged in "criminal incitement to murder" should be muzzled, adding that "the editor of the most reactionary newspaper who everyday calls for war against the Soviet Union would turn to the police and courts if anyone should

demand the murder of him and his friends." But many American newspapers, judging from the reports and cartoons published in *Editor & Publisher* on October 4th, blamed the Soviets, not the American press. Cartoonist Messner in the *Rochester Times-Union* depicted Vishinsky uttering the phrases "William Bullitt is a warmonger! John Foster Dulles is a warmonger! Frank Gannett is a warmonger! Everybody we can't bully is a warmonger!" and titled his picture "Horsefeathers." Duffy in the *Baltimore Sun* showed Vishinsky holding "peace" in chains. Mergen in the *Miami Daily News* showed Stalin holding a burning bomb behind his back and shouting "Warmongers." The vast American press whose actual calls for war, fake war scares, sensational war headlines ran into the thousands, naturally refused to accept the indictment.

Only the small honest liberal press agreed. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt deplored "loose talk" by "irresponsible" persons about an impending conflict (*New York Times*, September 16th) and in her column headed "War Hysteria" she advised a letter-writer to "read the newspapers, listen to the commentators on the radio and decide for herself what are the forces today that are creating fear in the hearts of men and thereby building this war hysteria. If it goes to its ultimate conclusions, it will bring us face to face with a World War III and the possible destruction of our civilization."

A headline from *PM*:

WILD RUMORS OF BLABBERMOUTHS

TILT JITTERY WORLD TOWARD WAR

However, the most significant action of all on the side of forces opposed to war talk was the editorial in *Editor & Publisher* (September 7th) addressed to the newspapers of America:

Where are the sturdy voices for peace we once had among the newspapers of this country? This continual war talk isn't going to help. . . All we have to do is continue

to think and talk of war and we soon create the national state of mind that is ready for war. . .

We don't want war. Neither does Russia—in spite of her blustery, diplomatic attitude.

We don't know how it started but war talk has spread like wildfire among our people. It's dangerous and foolhardy!

What we need is a lot more calm, dispassionate reasoning. Therein lies a duty of the American press. . . We think it is possible for our reporters and our editorial writers to report and comment on these diplomatic maneuverings without injecting war talk into their stories and editorials. Also, we believe it is necessary for these same editorial writers to counsel public figures in our own country to tone down their utterances concerning a future war. . .

If we have war let somebody else start it—let's not talk ourselves into believing it is inevitable or necessary. That could happen.

Unfortunately this warning was futile.

So far as the press itself is concerned, the significant indictment was that made by Professor MacDougall, as quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Editors and publishers reacted in the conventional way, as for examples:

Edwin D. Canham, *Christian Science Monitor*, president American Society of Newspaper Editors: "I do not agree with the MacDougall statement that a majority of American newspapers and radio commentators are convincing the American people that war is the only solution. . ."

John H. Crider, *Boston Herald*: "The MacDougall charges appear ridiculous to me. . ."

Wilbur Forrest, Assistant Editor, *New York Herald Tribune*: "It would seem to me that Mr. MacDougall is wrong. . . . Belligerent talk does not originate with American newspapers. It originates with the Russians themselves and the newspapers report the news. . ."

Gideon Seymour, *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*: "It is Prof. MacDougall who is hysterical. . . I know of no American newspaper, except on the lunatic fringes which thinks 'war is the only solution'. . . The American press, therefore, generally is supporting the peace policy."

John S. Knight, Knight chain: "I cannot fully agree. . . It seems to me that the press has fallen victim to the same inane practice of hurling threats across the sea to which so many of our top officials are addicted."

B. M. McKelway, *Washington Star*: "It is hard to argue with him until he gets down to cases, names some names and furnishes some specifications."

Apparently Editor McKelway had never heard of the biggest and most powerful newspaper chains in the country, Hearst and Howard, both of which were busy at the very moment confirming the charges made by Professor MacDougall. Actually the evidence would fill a dozen volumes the size of this one, and this chapter can only pick a few samples to refresh readers' memories. There are, in fact, more items in 1948 and 1949, up to the Paris conference in June 1949, to prove the point, but since they are recent they will not be mentioned here.

It should be pointed out, however, that Editor Frank Owen of the London *Daily Mail*, one of the biggest and most reactionary dailies in the world, expressed himself as "terrified by the war scare in the U.S." (*New York Times*, April 15, 1948). Columnist Lowell Mellet, who suspected that Owen was right, quoted him more fully. "The war scare which is raging over there," said Owen on returning to London, "is not only terrific, but is almost terrifying. If someone were suddenly to announce over the microphone that Red army paratroopers were dropping on Manhattan Island, there would be such a stampede of the human herd as has never been seen before."

A weekly known for its criticism of the commercial (anti-labor) press, the railroad unions' *Labor*, headed a news review July 31, 1948: "SCARING PEOPLE TO DEATH ABOUT WAR. PRESS AND COMMENTATORS TO BLAME." Henry Wallace wrote in his department in the *New Republic* (March 29) that "the massed weight of press and radio was being hurled against the peace-loving American people." Congressman Howard Buffett "branded the current war scare a 'crime against

America and all humanity," the UP reported April 4th, admitting there was a war scare but not admitting that war scares are possible only when the means of communication are used to cause it. Congresswoman Frances Bolton told her colleagues she was "shocked immeasurably by those who have risen in this House and said 'Let's fight them now!'" and Bishop Oxnam asked the nation's churches "to become so vocal in the face of the current war hysteria that our leaders will know we want immediate steps to avert the danger of war with Russia."

An amazing confirmation of the obvious fact that the nation was going through a stage of war hysteria was revealed in one of the reports of the Hoover commission on government reorganization. It was properly headlined across 6 columns in the *World-Telegram* December 16, 1948 as follows:

U.S. DRAWN CLOSE TO WAR BY SLOPPY INTELLIGENCE

Hoover Group Reveals Slip Last Spring

Says service error was caught in time by central agency

Someone had made a mistake, there had been a bad guess by military intelligence, and it had almost caused war. It had of course caused the 1948 war scare, as the *Herald Tribune* headline put it. The false intelligence report had informed President Truman that there were heavy Russian troop movements in Germany, and someone had concluded that war was about to break out. According to the Hoover report President Truman would have called for total mobilization if the mistaken report had not been corrected.

Another important revelation was made in April 1949. Pearson told a radio audience that James V. Forrestal, the Wall Street banker who had been Secretary of Defense, had shortly after his retirement "gone out of his mind," that he had been mentally ill while in office, and that he had become "obsessed with the idea that the Red Army had invaded this country" and that on the occasion of hearing a fire siren he

had run into the street clad in his pajamas "screaming about the Red Army."

Retired Rear Admiral Zacharias revealed (*United Nations World*, March 1949) that Forrestal had undergone a great change after the battle of Iwo Jima in 1945, had adopted the geopolitics of the Nazi General Haushofer, had become very aggressive and had called for United States military control of the globe.

When Forrestal committed suicide in 1949 there was considerable argument in the press (and a libel suit by Pearson against Pegler) regarding the ethics of describing the illness of the first Secretary of Defense of the United States, but very little was said about the man's influence in making the American anti-Russian policy for several years, while in a state of hysteria and fear of impending invasion.

Against all those, Americans and foreigners, who had enough courage to speak up against war scares the American press replied by calling them followers of the Soviet line, inasmuch as the Moscow newspapers had time and again cried out against "warmongers" and the Eastern delegates at the United Nations had proposed many paragraphs in the charter of human rights, the press code, and other documents against warmongering.

This volume can give but one out of ten or a thousand instances where Congressmen, nonpolitical leaders, officers of the Army and Navy, cartoonists, columnists, editorial writers and newspapers called for preventive war, using the atom bomb, indulging in fear-making, war scares, and warmongering throughout the years following the victory of World War II.

One fact is significant: in no European country in all this time, neither in Britain, France, Italy or other nations of the West nor in Soviet Russia, the Balkans or other nations of the East, had there ever been a war scare, a threat against the United States, or anything in the press which was not on the side of peace.

PART TWO

The Press Vs. “Iron Curtain” Nations

CHAPTER SEVEN

I HEARD THE PEOPLE SINGING BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

You can go by airplane from Paris, or you can take the train from Milan (if you have a military pass through Trieste and a Yugoslav visa and intend to disregard the State Department rubber stamp in your passport warning you not to go there) and ride in the dilapidated splendor of the old Orient Express directly into Eastern Europe, the peoples' democracies as they call themselves, the "iron curtain" countries as they are known to the American press.

Milan and Rome and Trieste, three big cities of Italy—a country which Italians refer to now as "America's biggest colony" or "America's first mistress"—look very much as they did after the First World War and during the decades of fascism. Neither the Second World War nor the reign of Mussolini seem to have affected the nation or the people. But if you investigate you find that the only marks and the only inheritance of twenty-seven years of fascist rule is a greater corruption than has ever existed.

Rome today really flaunts its wealth as it once did. A nation noted for exhibitions and exhibitionism from the time of the Caesars, it now shows off, by conspicuous waste, by rich living, by unmuffled motor cars and motorcycles

roaring up and down Via Veneto to call attention to the few who have the money. But despite the Marshall Plan the nation has two and a half million unemployed.

Wealth is on display, poverty and starvation are on display, and corruption, which is usually in the dark, has become so universal and so bold it parades the sunlit days. There is no whispering, as in other countries, there is a shout of "Black Market! Black Market! This is the black market; Dollars! Money exchange!" It is loud in the Piazza Colonna in Rome, and it is loud in the Cathedral Square in Milan.

In the south of Italy, the impoverished "mezzogiorno"—colleagues who have made an inspection tell you—things are worse than under the monarchy and under the fascist dictatorship; there is actual death by starvation, and many of the victims are farm laborers and their wives and children; but if this fact is ever reported in the American press there is not more than a paragraph now and then about the solution to the problem, a great land reform such as is taking place in many parts of the world. And if a few newspapers do mention the agrarian problem, only one or two may tell you that it is the Marshall Plan administration as well as the landed nobility and the Vatican nobility and other wealthy landowners who are to blame for a tragic situation.

Poverty, suffering, unemployment and sickening corruption are prevalent in Italy under the Marshall Plan (which of course has saved the De Gasperi regime and maintains it in power).

In this field there is only one slight difference between the present and the fascist system; Mussolini kept the beggars off the street, and the present free enterprise coalition permits them to roam. But the police drive them away from only the Via Veneto, so that the American tourist—and perhaps also the American journalist or book writer who never dirties his shoes by visiting the workers' districts—shall not see the heartbreaking side of the sunlit picture. Rome is the happiest place in the world for tourists today.

On a certain night we take our leave of unhappy and cor-

rupt free-enterprise Italy and our train creeps out of Trieste and we pass hours of the black night in customs and visa and money inspections. At 2 o'clock we may be able to fall asleep. But I was awakened at 4 in the morning by the people singing behind the iron curtain.

It is a Sunday morning and there are many people, there are girls and boys in native costume probably going to fairs and celebrations; or perhaps to church; and there are thousands of men in clothes more torn and dirtier than those worn by the hordes of Italian beggars, but they are carrying shovels and picks, they are going to work on Sunday, they are gay and laughing—and they are singing.

This is the first answer to the stories—year after year of stories in the American press—of people enslaved, of misery, unhappiness, of forced labor, of loss of human rights, of the decay and disappearance of human dignity in the “totalitarian” lands, the “satellite” nations, the so-called Iron Curtain countries.

There were only four or five of us foreigners on the whole trip from Italy to Belgrade, and the night before, entraining at Trieste, I had had an earful of hate and poison from the British, American, and Canadian group bidding farewell to some of their number going to Yugoslavia on diplomatic passports. They hated the people, the “natives” whom they—and others in the diplomatic corps and in the journalistic corps also—usually referred to as “damn Jugs”; they hated the government also, and they hated being assigned to Belgrade as one might hate having been condemned to a term on a penal island.

One of my outspoken traveling companions was a colonel. I asked him about the people singing.

“They’re trained to do that,” he replied.

“But who were all those thousands of boys and girls marching with shovels?” I asked.

“Those are the so-called volunteer brigades,” the colonel replied, adding with bitterness: “Slave labor.”

It was Sunday morning at Ljubljana. On the next track a

train was discharging several thousand persons, some in gay peasant dresses, some in torn work clothes, but all laughing and shouting and a happier crowd than I had seen in England, France, or Italy.

The boys and girls separated themselves from the others on the platform, formed in a line four or five abreast, and started marching away singing merrily, loudly, and passionately.

"They don't look like slave labor," I remarked to the colonel.

"They just don't know any better," he replied.

And that ended that discussion.

It was my introduction to the new world behind the iron curtain.

Journey Into the Phrase "Iron Curtain"

Despite an experience of 40 years in newspaper work—and a large number of them spent in criticizing the press—I was not prepared for what I found behind the so-called iron curtain.

On the assumption that where there is a lot of smoke there must be at least a little fire, and after three years of terrible tales of terrorism in the Western newspapers, and most notably in our own, I expected to find at least a little spark of truth behind the flaming press headlines.

Nor would it have been shocking. The country which I was now investigating—and Hungary and Czechoslovakia, which I visited later—had been ruined either by native fascism or by Naziism, and each nation had had a certain number of collaborators and traitors (including priests and monsignori) and many more passive people who certainly could not be relied upon in the formation of any regime, especially a radical one which nationalized industries and generally interfered with the old free enterprise system. If the Eastern lands were indeed police states, if the governments ruled by terrorism, if some people were afraid to speak

out, if opponents were slaughtered and political dissidents silenced, it would have been tragic and sad—but not surprising, from the long view of history.

I found nothing of the kind. I did find that there were many people who grumbled and complained—and the fact they did so was in a way a testimonial for the regimes, because they were not terrorized nor were they imprisoned for doing so. Naturally I found that manufacturers and big businessmen and small merchants who had suffered money losses through nationalizations were unhappy about it—and so were the big landowners, and especially the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church whose wealth and subsistence depended greatly on land tenure.

I found waiters, chambermaids, hotel porters—who are, sad to say, among the chief sources of information of many American visiting (but not resident) correspondents, and frequently the persons behind the phrases “well informed sources” and “reliably informed”—were usually angry at the new regimes because it meant less tips and perhaps no tips at all.

I found—when I went out to find—that the peasants who by the millions had been given land and for the first time in their lives owned something, and the workers in the industries—in other words the majority of people in every Eastern country—were not grumbling or fighting the regime; most of them were better off than at any time in history, and most of them were the backbone of the new system. The majority of citizens—never questioned by the majority of visiting journalists—were in favor.

It was then apparent that the worst iron curtain in the world is not that mentioned by Mr. Churchill but the one imposed by either the newspaper correspondents who cannot or do not report the truth or, most likely, by the editors and publishers of America who do not want to print the truth.

Before we journey further into the fakery and propaganda about the Eastern republics, it might be well to pause for a moment to explain that Churchill's sinister phrase is itself

part of the present cold war—and that its use by every American editor and publisher pays a royalty to the Nazi regime.

In March 1949, many great newspapers and radio commentators, including Lowell Thomas, with millions of listeners, joined to honor Winston Churchill for many things, including the coinage of the phrase “iron curtain” in his Fulton, Missouri, speech three years earlier. Thomas, on March 30th, on his CBS network, credited Churchill with the phrase; Bob Considine, Hearst columnist, March 31 wrote, the Fulton speech “will be remembered in history as the unveiling of what has become a part of the language of the earth—the ‘Iron Curtain.’ ”

The British and not the self-styled “free” American press is to be credited for exposing the Nazi origin of the Churchillian phrase which has not only swept the United States but overwhelmed the thinking of a large part of its press.

The liberal *Manchester Guardian*, the cooperative weekly *Reynolds News*, and even *The Times*, the Thunderer itself, have informed Churchill’s own nation he was using one of the enemy propaganda tools.

The Times provided “chapter and verse” to prove that “iron curtain,” a Nazi phrase used to denounce the enemy, the U.S.S.R., was publicly used by Minister of Finance Von Krosigk in wartime, more than a year before Churchill palmed it off on the American public.

Reynolds News commented editorially, “Mr. Churchill has recently found some strange ideological allies, but we are sure he would wish to repudiate any association with the views of so unsavory a person.”

The *Manchester Guardian* traced the origin further back—to the master propagandist Paul Josef Goebbels himself. In its February 23, 1945, issue the *Guardian* published an editorial entitled “Goebbels on ‘Third World War,’ ” which was based on a Reuter dispatch quoting a DNB broadcast in which Goebbels predicted a hoped-for World War III in 1948.

At the end of the Second World War, Goebbels shouted

into the microphone, "the whole of East and South-eastern Europe, together with the Reich, will come under Russian occupation. Behind an iron screen, mass butcheries of people will begin. . . ." Eventually there would be a third war, he predicted. The translation "iron screen" is merely a variant for "iron curtain."

The phrase was clever, and it was popularized in 1945 by all of Nazi Germany's friends. For example, the pro-Nazi Turkish journalist, Yalcin, wrote (August 20, 1945): "Wherever the Bolsheviks have set foot nothing remains of the ideas of 'democratic liberty' and 'democratic rights.' A steel curtain falls and shuts off these unhappy lands from the rest of the world."

Unfortunately most American newspaper editors even today do not know they are using a Nazi propaganda slogan. If they were informed it is likely that a large number of them would desist, leaving the phrase to the Hearsts, Howards, and McCormicks who probably do know its origin and who no doubt would continue to employ it.

The Nazi origin of the phrase is recognized by the American State Department.

Thanks to the reactionaries within that organization a memorandum on the subject has been suppressed. It is a very short document, it had been supplied to Secretary Byrnes, to Assistant Secretary William Benton, to Senators Connally and Vandenberg, and to notable others. It has been read by at least 200 executives and sub-executives of The State Department. I have been able to obtain a copy, and here it is in full:

"THE IRON CURTAIN"

The Iron Curtain: This colorful phrase, a substitute for thought, bids fair to become an essential vocabulary crutch to many people. In the last two days I have heard it used by people in the Department who should know better.

The line from Stettin to Trieste would put behind the Iron Curtain Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria, where the local press has considerable measure

of freedom and where our correspondents have successfully reported what is going on. OIC [State's Office of International Information] operations with films, news, exhibits, lectures have been successfully operated in these countries and should be expected to grow.

I object to the repetition of this phrase (the Iron Curtain) as defeatism. By using the words 'behind the iron curtain' we are psychologically surrendering an enormous area which is intellectually and culturally still bound to the West.

Let us grant there is an iron curtain at the Russian border and that the red fog obscures chunks of Central and Southeastern Europe—but why do we have to make a bad situation seem worse by ringing an iron curtain down ourselves on ourselves?

This is an official United States view, but it remains sabotaged. The Goebbels-Churchill line prevails.

The Iron-curtained Life

To the American press, and that part of the British, French, Italian, and other Western nations' press which in payment for the Marshall Plan follows the American press in falsifying the story of the East, the existence of the Nazi phrase has been a double godsend: it permits both the suppression of the amazing progress which has been made in the East—about which almost no American is informed—as well as the colossal type of fakery which I have already mentioned, notably the campaigns of falsehood regarding Mikhailovich and Stepinac.

Before I illustrate the charge of the ordinary day-by-day press fakery regarding Yugoslavia I would also like to say that the story that is suppressed, the story of a whole nation singing as it goes to work, is also part of the iron-curtain hoax, and I would like to repeat here my first impressions of the daily life of the nation which may open the reader's eyes; they certainly opened mine.

I was awakened before 7 the first morning in Belgrade by a repetition of the frontier experience: people singing. But this time it was a company of soldiers marching somewhere

without arms. The streets were full of people, they crowded off the sidewalks, and they were on the move. I found the secret later: many, especially government employees, prefer to go to work at 7 and continue straight on until 2 in the afternoon, giving them time for a siesta—which is as necessary in Belgrade as it is in Baghdad, for the heat is tropical and murderous—and free time for pleasure or for volunteer work on the national projects in the late afternoon.

All day long the streets are full of people, more people than in any other city; they are badly dressed, poorly dressed, but proud and smiling people, tall people, full of a great energy, strong-featured men and strong-featured women, walking very erect and smiling.

If I saw one I saw ten thousand women that morning, and not one had rouged lips, or rouged cheeks, or any makeup whatsoever. They were sunbrowned and healthy—healthier than any people I had seen in five other countries—and they carried themselves like the proud female figures on the bows of old sailing ships cutting through the waters. But even wooden figures are painted, whereas these tens of thousands of Yugoslav women and girls despite all their summer brownness had a strange look about them which was disconcerting at least for three or four days, until one got used to living in a rougeless world.

The animation of Belgrade is something beyond anything anywhere in Europe, either side of the so-called curtain. It is something like the New York subway rush at the peak hours, morning and afternoon, but here it goes on forever—at least from dawn to bedtime; and in good humor.

People are in a hurry. There is such a jam on the sidewalks that many have to walk in the streets, at least in the center of the city. In every street there are bombarded buildings being reconstructed, or new buildings going up, or buildings being torn down to make room for the vast new public buildings and vast new apartment houses which will be built.

There is no unemployment. There is a shortage of labor. There is above all else a shortage of skilled men and tech-

nicians. There is a tremendous demand for everything. And so there is rush and excitement and work going in every direction, and crowds and movement such as cannot be seen anywhere else in the world.

A hardworking people has united to reconstruct a nation ruined by war.

The great tidal wave of patriotism which started in the partisan or liberation movement against the Nazis, the Ustashis, other traitors, and Mikhailovich, has never ebbed. A great part of it has been channelized into hard common labor: into building of roads, clearing up war's destruction, putting up factories and homes, sweating it out under a tropical sun which lights up an unprecedentedly bright future.

The present itself however is tough. Food is scarce, clothing is scarce, housing is scarce, and thousands of comforts which most Americans regard as the marks of civilization are entirely missing. It is therefore quite evident that the Yugoslav people are inspired as no other people in Europe or America by their faith in the future.

I was able to talk to hundreds of persons in German. Workmen who were prisoners of war, lawyers who criticized the government, heads of factories, and even peasants in the fields. Without exception they loved and adored Tito. Tito led them to victory in the war; Tito was reconstructing the country; Tito was creating a nation which in their own lifetime will stand high among the most civilized and most cultured and most progressive nations of the world.

The only persons in all Yugoslavia who spoke against the government and against Tito and against the 5-year-plan were many diplomatic officials of many nations and most of the American journalists.

However, when United States Ambassador Cavendish Cannon gave a garden party for diplomats and journalists attending the Danube Conference, I got into a conversation with Political Attaché Lenhardt, and the judgment he passed on Yugoslavia was this: "What is happening here is the biggest thing since the end of the war."

I made a date with Lenhardt at the embassy for the next day but the first thing he then said was: "This is for your information; it is off the record," so I cannot quote him any further. But I did agree in his profound conclusion: what is happening in Yugoslavia in many ways is the most important event since the end of the war.

These were my first impressions, set down at random, as impressions always occur. But it seems to me they introduce Yugoslavia better than anything I could write later.

Testing the News

In Yugoslavia I had my first opportunity to employ a method suggested by the late mayor of New York, Fiorello La Guardia, who on returning from an inspection tour of UNRRA activities, of which he was the head, wrote:

"In every capital that I have visited men high in office as well as heads of governments, have pulled out clippings of the American newspapers and have asked me why the errors, why the misrepresentations, why the false information. If they were editorials, the answer was easy. When they were news items, purporting to represent the facts, there was no answer."

In preparation for this trip I prepared the clippings myself, and also quotations from radio broadcasts, magazines, and books. There was something suspicious about all of them, at least something which needed confirmation or denial or explanation.

I did not take along the thousands of items on Mikhailovich or Stepinac, or the famous Yugoslav "ultimatum." These were big news items and although they had obviously been turned into dishonest propaganda by the press, a little of the truth had already reached the intelligent public which reads the few liberal publications. A. J. Liebling in his excellent department in the *New Yorker*, "The Wayward Press," had done a grand job on the "ultimatum"—and everyone who is interested in a case history of how the Amer-

ican press fools the American people should get the September 7, 1946, issue of the magazine or better still, Mr. Liebling's *The Wayward Pressman*, which reprints the item along with a score of other good stories. The exposé in question deals with the press reports of a State Department note to the Tito Government asking for the release of surviving aviators of a plane shot down over Yugoslav territory. Every newspaper had it an ultimatum. Typical was the *New York Daily News* front page given over to enormous headlines: "U.S. GIVES TITO 48 HR. ULTIMATUM." There was no ultimatum of course. It was just a case of hysteria—and falsehood. But even columnist Dorothy Thompson, whose influence on millions is based on the myth of her "clear thinking" rather than the fact of frequent emotional outbursts of bias and hysteria, wrote days after the story had been exploded that "The United States then sent an ultimatum." (*New York Post*, August 26th.)

I found in Belgrade—and later in other countries—that the foreign offices or the press sections of governments had even better files of propaganda, bias, and falsehoods about their countries than I had collected. I was able in Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia to get enough material to write not a 50-page pamphlet similar to the one Lippmann and Merz wrote in 1920 on Russia, but a 500-page book on each country.

Among the small items my wife clipped and mailed to me while I traveled was the following:

TITO WARS ON RELIGION
Churches Stay Open, But Under Control

By William H. Newton
(Scripps-Howard Staff Writer)

The date was September 2, 1948. Shortly afterwards the head of the Yugoslav press bureau came to Paris to attend a United Nations session, and I used this opportunity to check with him on some new items relating to his country. I pro-

posed in this instance that I read the Newton piece and that he interrupt at any point he found a statement untrue, or wished to explain it. Here then follows a transcript of what followed:

Newton: "The church is persecuted in Yugoslavia."

Dedijer: "That is absolutely false. There is no persecution of any church, Catholic, Orthodox, or other. There is prosecution of those who aided the enemy—fascists and traitors, regardless of their profession, which may include the clerical."

Newton: "There are now 250 Catholic priests and 60 nuns in jail. Two bishops are serving long sentences."

Dedijer: "There are not 250 Catholic priests and 60 nuns in jail, and I challenge the journalist to produce evidence. Archbishop Stepinac, convicted of aiding the Nazis and Ustashi [the traitors under Pavelich] was sentenced to 16 years imprisonment after he was found guilty in a fair trial."

Newton: "No member of the Army may attend church."

Dedijer: "What a lie! You can read newspaper accounts of not only church attendance but of marriages of army officers in our churches."

Newton: "No government employee may attend church. The penalty of getting caught is the loss of his job."

Dedijer: "This is the same lie about army officers."

Newton: "Priests must be careful about what they say from the pulpit. The penalty for stepping over the line in a sermon is a harsh prison sentence."

Dedijer: "The law in Yugoslavia is the same as the law in the United States. Priests may not preach treason, neither in Yugoslavia or in America."

Newton: "Mostly the clerics arrested are charged with collaboration with 'the enemy,' with espionage, or with fascism. Sometimes they are hauled up under the all-inclusive charge of 'crimes against the people.' That can mean anything."

Dedijer: "People suspected of collaboration with the Nazis and the Ustashi, with espionage and with fascism, are ar-

rested and fairly tried, even if they are priests. Priests fought with Pavelich and blessed the Nazis—Stepinac is an example—and the German Army's official newsreels are one of the proofs of this. Such persons, clerical and lay, are enemies of the people, and all who are found are arrested."

Newton: "There isn't a Catholic school in Yugoslavia."

Dedijer: "This is an outrageous lie. We not only have Catholic schools, but the Yugoslav government has aided in the erection of a new theological seminary."

Newton: "Nuns have been expelled wholesale from the Catholic hospitals."

Dedijer: "That is not true."

Newton: "Teaching of the catechism is prohibited in the churches."

Dedijer: "Nonsense. Teaching of the catechism is permitted, even in the public schools."

Newton: "Preaching from the pulpit is under such severe censorship that most priests read their sermons from established Catholic texts."

Dedijer: "There is no censorship. There is of course the law against treason, which applies to all, including preachers. No priest who preaches Jesus Christ or repeats the Sermon on the Mount or who favors the general welfare of the people has any fear of the government. Those priests who go into politics and on the side of fascism, as did many on the side of Hitler and Pavelich during the war, are treated as other citizens are treated."

Newton: "Some of the most stringent penalties against the priests—such as the death sentence—have been relaxed recently."

Dedijer: "It is a falsehood to speak of penalties against the priests. There are no penalties against priests; there are penalties against traitors, fascist traitors. This is therefore a dishonest statement. Would the correspondent write about 'penalties against the street cleaners' or 'penalties against butchers' or any other trade or profession? Your laws in

America do not specify or exempt priests and neither do ours."

To illustrate the modern proverb, that a lie can travel halfway round the world while truth is putting on her shoes, here is a small part of the documentation on what was once a big and sensational story of a revolt against Tito:

(1) *Sozialdemokrat*, Berlin, September 6, 1947; headline, "KAEMPFE GEGEN TITO-GEGER"; an Associated Press item dated Athens, and reporting the fight against a Tito opposition.

(2) *Telegraf*, Berlin, September 7; headline, "REVOLTE GEGEN TITO?" quotes the Italian daily *Corriere Lombardo*.

(3) *L'Italia*, September 7; headline, "DURI OSSI DA RODERE PER IL DITTATORE TITO"; the item begins: "Atene, 6 notte. Dalle frontiere con la Jugoslavia sequitano ad arrivara notizie di accaniti scontri . . . tra le truppe regolari di Tito e le bande de guerriglieri conosciuti col nome 'Crociati' "; this was the first time the rebels were named as the "Crusaders."

(4) *Passauer Neue Presse*, September 9; headline, "PARTISANEN GEGEN TITO"; a DANA dispatch from Milan, beginning "In Jugoslavien hat ein Anti-Tito-Partisanenkampf begonnen. . . . In Suedjugoslawien sollen, wie INS [Hearst] am Samstag . . . nach Meldungen von der griechisch-jugoslawien Grenze berichtet, heftige Kaempfe zwischen den Partisanen und jugoslawischen Regieurgstruppen." Here the Hearst service has a frontier report of "heavy fighting."

(5) *Daily Telegraph*, September 15. The little fake items and rumors from the borders this day become a world-wide sensation, and even the ultra-conservative London daily reported it as follows:

REBELS ATTACK TITO'S FORCES: GREEK REPORTS

Athens. The Catholic underground organization, the 'Crusaders', has been active in the last fortnight throughout the South Serbian area of Yugoslavia, according to reliable reports from the Greek-Jugoslav frontier.

Greek military sources, as well as British intelligence

experts, hint that 'something abnormal' is going on in Yugoslavia. . . . Last night the sound of heavy artillery. . . .

The Crusaders organized over the mountainous range of Gradina Planina, launched the first attack against Marshal Tito's forces on August 26. . . . On September 7 the Crusaders raided some villages. . . . The Crusaders . . . have about 15,000 men.

(6) *Sozialdemokrat*, Berlin, September 15; headline, "WIEDERSPRUECHE ZU TITO'S DEMENTI"; a denial by the paper of Tito's denial that there was a word of truth in the Athens story.

(7) *Telegraf*, Berlin, September 16; headline, "ABNORMES IN SUEDSERBIAN"; a Reuter London dispatch using the *Daily Telegraph's* phrase about something "abnormal" going on.

(8) *De Volkskrant*, September 16. This Dutch Catholic organ headlined the story: "ONDERGRONDS VERZET TEGEN TITO OPENT DE STRIJD 'IETS BUITENGEWOO' IS GAANDE" (Underground resistance against Tito begins to fight; Something very extraordinary, strange is happening).

(9) *Dissidence*, Paris, December 1; "LE MOUVEMENT DE RESISTANCE EN YUGOSLAVIE."

(10) *Le Phare*, Brussels, Belgium, December 3; "L'ACTIVITE ANTI COMMUNISTE EN YUGOSLAVIE."

(11) *Samedi-Soir*, Paris, December 27; "SUCCESSEUR DE MIKHAILOVITCH / UN DON JUAN BARBU FAIT DES BALKANS UN 'BARIL DE HAINE' CONTRE TITO."

(12) *Il Mattino di Roma*, January 29, 1948; "LA REVOLTA COVA IN JUGOSLAVIA / I CETNICI CONTRO TITO."

The dossier from which I copied these headlines does not include the United States press, but the episode is well remembered. It was of course a total falsehood. It traveled around the world. But truth puts on her shoes only once. The eminent London *Times* on September 19, 1947, reported:

THE JUGOSLAV BORDER
LITTLE EVIDENCE OF FIGHTING

Rumors . . . have been transmitted as facts to certain press organs abroad, of heavy fighting close to the Greek

frontier between Yugoslav anti-Tito guerrillas and Yugoslav Army units. . .

The competent Greek and British military authorities in Salonika have received no intelligence which would confirm these rumors . . . treat them with greatest reserve. . . .

And here is another illustration of a small lie appearing in a small publication, and then making its way around the world, even after it has been placed in its grave—so far as Europe is concerned.

In August 1947 the Swiss Catholic journal *Orientierung*, published a little falsehood about a secret meeting of the “regional committee of Croatia” at which Tito is falsely alleged to have made a speech in which he threatened the Allies with V-rockets and other weapons.

The first jump was an easy one: within a few days the same falsehood appeared in the De Gaullist journal, *Dissidence* 40. It was taken up by a bigger French paper, *Epoch*, and given a bigger headline.

La Voce Libera, a reactionary newspaper of Trieste, leaped on the *Epoch*’s item, and added that it had had this “document” of the speech a long time but did not publish it because it considered it a fraud; but now that the Paris *Dissidence* had published it, *La Voce Libera* was convinced that the story was true, so it played it up.

Inasmuch as Trieste was under Anglo-American occupation, the world press got the “text” of the speech and the sensational headlines.

But when *Dissidence* 40 heard of this affair it investigated and found the whole story wasn’t true. It didn’t apologize, but it merely stated the item was a falsehood. This halfway *amende honorable* by *Dissidence*, however, was not noted by *La Voce* or any other paper which had reprinted the lie from its columns.

However, at the end of 1947 the fake had been pronounced dead and had been buried without ceremony in many countries of Europe.

But on March 18, 1948, the *World-Telegram* (with a map) and the *Washington Star* (without a map) and other papers belonging to Press Lord Howard went to town (as part of the State Department campaign to win the elections in Italy for the reactionary-conservative-Vatican coalition) with huge sensational headlines (5-columns, page 1, 2nd section, in the *World-Telegram*):

SOVIET ROCKETS POINTING AT ITALY

Russian-Built planes and subs on border as election nears

by Bogdan Raditsa

Ex-Yugoslav Press Information Chief

Written for NEA Service.

Russian rocket bombs have been moved to launching sites along Yugoslavia's borders as Italy prepared for her crucial election April 18 and pressure increases on the tiny Allied token force at Trieste.

That information comes to me from reliable eyewitness sources. Yugoslav friends who have fled from Tito's domain as I did to escape the fate that befell liberals in other Russian satellite countries. [Two paragraphs follow concerning the rocket bombs].

Those facts come to me in letters which bear a Swiss postmark and the handwriting of a trusted exile, safe in Swiss neutrality, whose name cannot be mentioned. Inside the envelopes is the handwriting of sincere and observing Yugoslav lawyers and businessmen who . . . smuggle their facts to Switzerland.

Slave Labor Used

They have seen more than the rockets which Russia has been delivering and the bases built by slave labor. . .

Russian coastal batteries. . . Big guns. . .

All this, of course, is being done in the name of Tito, Yugoslav gauleiter for the new Soviet order. But the men as well as the war machines bear the authentic 'Made in USSR' stamp.

In every Yugoslav division and brigade Russian officers and commissars instruct the Yugoslav soldiers. . .

Action Expected Soon

And last November Tito confidentially told the communist leaders in Croatia: "We are ready to sink their (American) fleet in the Adriatic. Against their atom bombs we shall use our own. . ."

Colonel Dedijer pointed out how patently untrue were all the statements made in the sensational article, there had never been Russian or any other sort of rocket bombs or platforms in Yugoslavia, no coastal batteries, nor were Yugoslav divisions and brigades being instructed by Soviet commissars, nor did Tito ever make the address in Croatia; it was, after all, the original Swiss fake story of 1947 with 1948 trimmings for the Italian elections. The story had been revived and it made a big sensation in the United States even after its death in Europe.

Colonel Dedijer also had among the foreign office clippings of falsehoods about Yugoslavia a complete dossier on the sensational American story, the Case of Mrs. Debeljak, from the 2-column exclusive lie in the *World-Telegram* of January 23, 1948, saying an American woman had been sentenced to death, to the 1-paragraph item in the *Herald Tribune* truthfully stating that the woman, guilty of collaborating with traitors to the country, had been sentenced to 10 years February 23rd.

There were thousands of clippings, hundreds and hundreds of falsehoods about Tito and Yugoslavia. It would be a good thing if this government—and also the Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Rumanian, and Albanian governments, all the victims for years of a foreign press campaign of falsehood and vilification—should publish White Books, or rather yellow books—reprinting the lies, stating the facts, keeping the record straight.

There is no room here for more examples. Except a postscript on Falsehood Against Tito.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FALSEHOOD AGAINST TITO

Since one of the distinguishing differences between the American press and the world press is emphasis by the former on "human interest" rather than national affairs, and inasmuch as human interest often concerns the leaders of nations rather than plans and programs and the progress of nations, it is but reasonable to find the newspapers of the United States devoting great space to the personal affairs of such people as Roosevelt and Truman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, the Roosevelt children and Margaret Truman, and in the foreign field to such leaders as Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia.

When the American press approves editorially of a man (or a regime) it raises the man to the heavens, provides a big halo, creates a myth—and of course suppresses vital facts—in the case of Churchill his support of Mussolini and Franco and all fascist leaders and systems except Hitler, the only fascist who was an economic rival.

But when the American press opposes a leader (or a regime) it devotes itself almost exclusively to biased reporting and falsehood, poisoning the American mind, making it receptive for future war plans.

The chief cold war victim of the maxim, "when war is

declared, Truth is the first casualty," is undoubtedly Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. The American press, ably assisted by the State Department and its ambassadors and other "responsible" officials, united in a steady attack which lasted for several years, but which hesitated, although it did not entirely cease, in the summer of 1948 when the rift between Moscow and Belgrade was accepted as authentic.

The attack on Tito began while he was the ally of the United States and Britain in the war against fascism. Churchill and Roosevelt had approved of Tito, knowing he was a Communist, because he alone among those who claimed to be leaders of the Yugoslav people was fighting the Nazis. Mikhailovich, the general appointed by the monarchy, was so bitter an anti-Communist that after leading some attacks on the German and Italian invaders he made his choice: he went over to them, used their arms and munitions and traitorously attacked the troops of the Yugoslav Partisans. (For this he was later tried and executed.)

In November 1943 some nondescript and irresponsible publications not worth dignifying by naming made statements which would not be worth mentioning were it not for the fact that almost immediately they were taken up by journals and journalists of repute and are still being used at the present writing.

First, there was the question of Tito's name. It is really of no importance, nevertheless it has served the purpose of the libel-mongers. One of them, for example, stated that Louis Adamic was wrong in saying that Tito was the name under which Josip Broz led the Partisans. "The real monicker appears to be Camillo Horvath. And he isn't even a Yugoslavian. He's a Hungarian communist," writes one sheet. And continues:

"And the name Tito is a fabrication composed of the initials of a Balkan terrorist organization called *Tajna Internacionalna Terroristicka Organizacija*, which means Secret International Terrorist Organization. This was the organiza-

tion with which Ante Pavelich, Croatian fascist and quisling, has been connected in his terrorist activities."

Within a fortnight of this publication the most respected organ of the Catholic Church in Great Britain, *The Catholic Herald*, published a report from a "special correspondent," saying that the name Tito was a compilation of initials of the words T-hird I-nternational T-errorist O-rganization, "a section of the former Comintern."

This was a little too much for a liberal weekly which replied that "we have it from the horse's mouth, from an unimpeachable source, as the saying goes. What the letters T.I.T.O. really stand for is the war cry of the Yugoslav guerrillas, which reads in English

Thrice-blessed Intransigent Teetotallers—Onward!

That's what the Partisans really fight for." (*Tribune*, London, November 19, 1943.)

And as late as 1948 we find the noted journalist Rebecca West publishing in the *New York Herald Tribune* a series of charges and predictions (which the course of history has shown up as nothing but personal prejudices) in which again the statement is made that Tito is not a Yugoslav.

"His partisan campaign was superb," writes Miss West, "but his participation in it was not direct." (It is almost impossible for any journalist to spend a day or two in Belgrade without meeting Partisans who fought in the field with Tito, who were continually under fire with him.) "I have been visited in England by a Yugoslav who described to me. . ." continues Miss West, thus repeating for some hundreds of thousands of American readers a statement from an unidentified Yugoslav refugee, an obvious enemy, as if it were the truth—and thus proving again that the old journalistic trick used by Hearst reporters can also be useful to such a notable personality as Rebecca West when she enters the haphazardous field of journalism.

Then, she speaks of "responsible" observers she has encountered who assured her that Tito had no qualities "be-

yond readiness to perform conscientiously the duties of a Soviet Stooge." (Events which followed this declaration are its refutation.)

And, finally, she speaks of "cynicism, and a lack of tenderness for both the Yugoslav people and institutions which have made many Yugoslavs believe him—and this belief was encouraged by his accent—not to be a Yugoslav at all."

(Miss West ought to be challenged at this point to name one Yugoslav who does not believe Tito is a Yugoslav; certainly none of the people of his village, or his living relatives, or the workers to whom I have talked at the electric plant at Zagreb who belonged to the same union with J. Broz, as he was then simply known, can corroborate Miss West. The Yugoslavs have a word for such fantastic statements, but it is too difficult for me to spell out here.)

Another of the many versions of the hackneyed falsehood appeared in the gossip column of Danton Walker. "The real Tito of Yugoslavia," the gossipier wrote, "was liquidated several months ago in Russia and the present Tito is a Soviet general, S. Lebedev, who is a perfect double." This item was included in the "Interesting if True" department. (*New York Daily News*, January 9, 1946).

And three years later—this is another small item in the dossier of proof that Sophocles was right when he said "a lie never lives to be old"—we find Lowell Thomas broadcasting over the CBS network, on April 21, 1949, to millions of Americans the startling news that "the real Tito was captured by the Nazis, shot and buried" and that the present Tito is none other than a Russian commissar who has taken on the name and position (and apparently also the blue-green eyes) of the Yugoslav Partisan leader. All this on the basis of what a priest said in Wichita, Kansas, that afternoon. This was the United Press' contribution to the ancient fake:

WICHITA, KAN—A Roman Catholic priest, exiled by Communists from his native Yugoslavia, claimed today that Marshal Tito was killed by German invaders in 1942

and that a Russian commissar has masqueraded as the Yugoslav dictator for nearly seven years.

The priest, who asked that his name not be published for fear of reprisals against his family in Yugoslavia, said the Russian was merely a figurehead. . .

"Nearly all Yugoslavs know that Tito is dead," the priest said, "but there is nothing they can do about it. . ."

The campaign against Tito was sponsored by the Yugoslav ambassador to the United States, Constantine Fotitch, both before and after his dismissal in 1944. The Hearst press, Colonel McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*, and other reactionary newspapers were liberal with their space, and scores of Washington correspondents were supplied with "news" items which appeared in such respectable newspapers as the *New York Times* and *Christian Science Monitor*.

Against this chorus of hatred the voice of Blair Bolles, of *PM's* Washington bureau, was hardly heard. Fotitch, the iconoclastic newspaper reported, was a "diplomatic spreader of hate and dissension . . . who has worked energetically during the last two years to poison the American mind against the Partisans of Yugoslavia. . .

"Fotitch is an old hand at inventing news he would like to happen. . . Fotitch has been lucky through the years in having the support of the U.S. Government. . . Maybe the last has not been heard from him. His cousin is Gen. Milan Nedich, Hitler's stooge 'Chief of Government' in Belgrade. . . If Nedich gains some position after the war, he probably will want to reward Cousin Fotitch, who wrote nice letters to newspapers about Nedich during these trying years." (*PM*, June 18, 1944.)

In an attempt to counteract the Fotitch propaganda, Louis Adamic established his magazine *T&T* and wrote in his first issue (February 1945) that:

Fotitch, while ambassador, had the cooperation of several American journalists—Constantine Brown and Helen Lombard, of the *Washington Star*; Ray Brock, of the *New York Times*, who in '43, logically, went over to Hearst; Spencer Irwin, of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*; William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard foreign editor;

Andre Visson, now of the *Reader's Digest*; (the late) Benjamin de Casseres, Hearst columnist; and William Henry Chamberlin—and also of the publishers and editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News*, the *American Mercury*, the *New Leader*, *Human Events*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Newsweek*, and all the Hearst newspapers.

Of course most of these writers, editors and publishers, perhaps all of them, had no idea they were serving the London scheme (a Serbian political-press bureau). Their political views and attitudes, primarily conservative or reactionary and anti-Soviet, simply happened to be such that they and Fotitch readily met on common ground, and they were able and eager to serve his purposes without inquiring too closely into them.

A year later Mr. Adamic's generous judgment of several editors and journalists might have been questioned by the following episode, a part of the report of the trial of Mikhailovich on the charge of aiding the Nazis and the Italian fascists and committing treason by leading his Chetniks against the Partisans. The paragraphs in question are:

BELGRADE, June 10 (UP) . . . One of the most important absent defendants was Konstantin Fotitch, Royalist ambassador to the United States, who was charged with "organizing large scale propaganda abroad while fully aware that Mikhailovich and his Chetniks were collaborating with occupied Government officials."

Fotitch also was charged with sending Ray Brock, a former American foreign correspondent, to Mikhailovich's headquarters and with "giving false propaganda" to R. H. Markham of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

More than 70 Allied correspondents attended the opening session.

As indicated by the initials, this was a United Press report, but it was not used in the main UP newspaper, the *New York World-Telegram*, which used the story of its rival, the AP, instead.

The AP apparently suppressed the news entirely, since there is no mention of Fotitch, Brock, or Markham in its story as used by the *New York Post* of the same date. Nor is there any mention of these three in the AP story, slightly different for the morning papers, as it appeared in the *New York Times* of June 11, 1946.

Nor does the rival *Herald Tribune* mention the three in its Belgrade report from its own correspondent, Seymour Friedin.

In some of the vast campaigns of propaganda and falsehood against Tito and Yugoslavia conducted in the American press it is difficult to distinguish between Marshal Tito and his nation since both are journalistic victims.

Shortly after the war ended newspapers, magazines, Congressmen, and other reactionaries began a campaign which resulted in the dissolution of the relief administration which had been headed by New York's fiery liberal, Mayor La Guardia. Enmity and isolationism—and press falsehood—triumphed.

The more ethical minority of newspapers, such as the *Times*, did publish protests and the UNRRA replies; the majority of unethical papers, such as the Scripps-Howard chain (bellwethered by the *World-Telegram*) continued to publish their own views as news and to misinform the public.

The *Times*, for example, on June 16, 1946 printed a column headed:

UNRRA DENIES TITO RECEIVED SUPPLIES
La Guardia Attacks Report That Aid Was Diverted To
Yugoslav Army
INQUIRY BY GEN. GALE
Two Overseas Writers Protest Albion Ross Dispatch—The
AP Also Attacked

The *Times'* Mr. Ross had cabled that the relief supplies, with the permission of the organization, had been diverted to Marshal Tito who had used them to build up a military machine. La Guardia had ordered Lt.-Gen. Sir Humphrey Gale, then in charge of European relief, to investigate and report and on this basis the *Times'* report was exposed as unfounded. Mayor La Guardia also denounced the editorial the *Times* had written repeating the untrue news reports.

This refutation did not deter the yellow press. On July 2nd the *World-Telegram* published an editorial repeating

the charges already denied, and a news item headed "RUTH MITCHELL PINS UNRRA GRAB ON TITO," quoting this former "female Chetnik's" statement that UNRRA food was being repacked in Russian boxes before distribution, and the packages then given "to friends of Partisan Leader Marshal Tito."

Mayor La Guardia's indignant reply to the *World-Telegram* appeared in the form of a 500 or 600 word advertisement paid for by his sponsor, a merchant, in the *Post* July 11th and the *Times* July 12th. The Mayor wrote:

"During the last week some of our press have been devoting a great deal of space to printing misinformation, propaganda, and poison, all harmful to our country in its foreign relations. Why such a policy at a time when our country is making every effort to create harmony and better understanding among the nations of the world? . . .

"The *World-Telegram* seeks to create the idea that the Government of Yugoslavia was using UNRRA gasoline. That, of course, is not true. . ."

The *World-Telegram* returned to its redbaiting August 26 with a big item by Frederick Woltman headlined:

TITO'S RISE FINANCED BY U.S. CONTRIBUTORS
Refugee Fund Paved Way for Dictator

Among those accused by the self-admitted redbaiter Woltman of contributing to "a communist-front refugee agency [which] financed the wartime transfer of Marshal Tito from France to Yugoslavia" were Rita Hayworth, Prof. Albert Einstein, Walter Huston, Thomas Mann, Bishop Parsons, and Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

Hearst's chain of yellow newspapers joined in the attack in August, the *New York Mirror* reporting that the sending of the relief supplies to Yugoslavia had been halted on orders from Washington. Gen. Lowell W. Rooks, acting UNRRA head, called the *Mirror* item false.

But the campaign continued. The press was determined to destroy UNRRA and especially all aid to Yugoslavia. On No-

vember 1st, however, the press had to report the counter-attack, as for example:

UNRRA AIDES DENY TITO MISUSES FUNDS

3 Investigators After Tour of Yugoslavia, Report
No Sign of Political or Military Abuses

By Bess Furman

Special to the *New York Times*

However, there were several interesting items at this La Guardia press conference at which the official UNRRA report was published, which were not reported in either the *Times* or other commercial papers. But Edwin Newman of *PM* revealed that La Guardia opened the conference by stating: "Of course some papers will not take the truth on this, but there is nothing I can do about that." The Mayor then denied the charges made by one Leo Hochstetter, who had been let out by the Belgrade information office of UNRRA earlier that year and who had attacked UNRRA in the November 2nd issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, smearing most American and British fellow employees as "fellow travelers" and "party liners." Concluded La Guardia: "I suppose if we sent an angel down there clad in white his color would be described as red by the time he got out."

Newman also disclosed that Miss Furman of the *Times* "insisted again on going into the backgrounds of the three investigators—their race, religion and previous conditions of servitude" and that La Guardia had answered that Col. Katzin was a Jew and "a capitalist," Prof. Schaaf of William and Mary and Jean Burnay of France were Catholics. Miss Furman had not reported in the *Times* on a question she thought most important to ask.

After this conference it might be assumed that the press campaign would end. It now was taken up by the magazines. All the old propaganda, many of the items denounced by La Guardia as falsehoods, appeared in January 1947 in an article in the *American Mercury* signed by Eric L. Pridonoff,

advertised as having been employed by the State Department in 1945 for the Embassy in Belgrade, and an authority on Yugoslavia.

Among the many falsehoods circulated for political purposes is the story that Winston Churchill had repudiated Tito. Despite his pre-war history as a friend of fascism, and his post-war history as the reviver of the Hitler Anti-Komintern Pakt plan, and despite his No Second Front in France plan in 1942 to 1944, Churchill was nevertheless Britain's hero in fighting the war itself, and for purely military reasons he had dropped Mikhailovich and recognized Tito as our ally.

There was actually circulated in England and America a direct quotation (credited to the Brussels publication *Europe-Amerique*, December 6, 1945) which follows:

During his visit to Brussels in October, 1945, Mr. Churchill made the following statement about Marshal Tito:

"During the war I thought I could trust Tito. He has promised me to observe the agreement he had concluded with Dr. Shubashitch, but now I am well aware that I committed one of the biggest mistakes in the war."

Fortunately, however, the liberal columnist and member of the Labour Party in Parliament, Tom Driberg, did not let the lie get by. He questioned Mr. Churchill and received a reply (dated May 14, 1946 and printed in *Reynolds News* June 19th) saying there was "no foundation for it" and that "moreover, it is not my view that a mistake was committed during the war in supporting Marshal Tito."

So this sitting canard was shot dead—unlike the majority which continue to migrate from nation to nation, year after year.

Among the dozens of reports of attempted assassinations of Tito—not quite as many falsehoods as the press carried in the days of 1917-20 regarding Lenin—one of the first appeared in the *Times* of July 13, 1946, page 1, column 1, headed: "TITO REPORTED HURT IN ASSASSIN'S ATTACK," and on July 14th the *Times*—but this time on page 15, column 3—pub-

lished an item of equal length headed "ATTACK ON TITO DENIED." There was no attack on Tito, and while the *Times* must be credited with publishing the denial, an ethical action usually unknown to the majority of newspapers which make honest errors or print falsehoods maliciously, there remains the question: why was the item ever printed when it merely repeated a rumor, and (in the *Times* report at least) was followed by a statement from the Yugoslav Embassy saying it knew nothing of the matter?

There may be some justification for this kind of journalism, but what can be said for the Associated Press and its several thousand newspapers which on January 21 (evening) and 22 (morning), 1948, alarmed the United States by printing a report of a public speech by Tito in which he was quoted saying that war was perhaps "a question of several weeks" and that "we shall use our own atom bomb."

Sensational as this story was, it was credited to *La Voce Libera*, an anti-Tito propaganda sheet of Trieste, and included the incredible statement that it was not news at all, that it had already been published in Paris last December 15th, and that the French editor, Pierre Dumas, "said today that he was convinced the report was a fabrication."

Of course it was a fabrication. But too good a thing not to use in the cold war against Tito. And so we have headlines like these:

EDITOR DOUBTS TITO BOASTED OF A-BOMB

(*World-Telegram*, January 21, 1948).

TITO FORECASTS WAR IN 'WEEKS'—OR IS IT FAKE?

(*Daily News*, January 22, 1948).

These items are worth preserving for any history of American journalism—it isn't often that editors throw down their own news items when they present them to public view.

In the late Spring of 1948 there occurred an event which was immediately recognized as one of the most significant in world relations since the establishment of the Comintern

and the spread of communism throughout a large part of the world.

Tito was excommunicated by the Communist Information Bureau, or the Cominform, as it was better known.

This was the first time in history that a rift appeared in the organization which had as its great aim the creation of a universal state.

At this moment professional redbaiters, and even the American diplomatic set in Belgrade which had been looking upon Tito with bloodshot eyes, began to change their manner, and a wild hope grew in Western bosoms.

But not in the mind of the noted journalist Rebecca West. For her, and she had never been warped by Hearstian training, it was all a plot!

"It is with the greatest alarm" she wrote in the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* (July 6, 1948) "that I see the British and American press falling into the trap which has been set them by the present 'revolt' of Marshal Tito.

"This is the most spectacular piece of humbug yet perpetrated by the Soviet Union. If Marshal Tito is rebelling against Soviet control, it is because he has been told to rebel by the Soviet Government itself. His rebellion serves many Soviet interests. It gives an excuse for the entry of Soviet armies into Yugoslavia and their establishment on the Italian frontier. It pleases the hard-run Russian people by another imperialist victory. It breaks the patriotic spirit of Yugoslav youth, which since the war has been centered on Tito. . .

"Let me prophesy that the rebellion will start off with the rolling of drums; that it will collapse soon and suddenly; that the invading Soviet armies will use the revelation it has made of 'unsound elements' in Yugoslavia and will massacre them without mercy. . ."

Not even in the wildest headlines of the Hearst press has so much blood and thunder run through barrels of red ink. The Hearst press is scarcely worth mentioning, its readers being of the lowest intelligence quotient and its influence among educated people rather small, if not totally zero. But

Miss West commands an audience which is rather immune to the poison of headlines and the propaganda of partisan writing. Miss West has no doubt succeeded in her years of biased writings against Tito in making many enemies for him.

When, at the end of the year, Edgar Snow could write in the anti-Tito, reactionary *Saturday Evening Post* (December 18) that

. . . the heresy of the Yugoslav Communist Party was the most significant development in the inner history of the world communist movement. . . Today it is manifest that Moscow's enraged denunciation of Tito and his colleagues was neither a minor aberration of mere topical importance or a Machiavellian trick to deceive the western powers, as some observers naively supposed. . .

then one might ask the most naive (?) of the observers to make some sort of journalistic restitution for the counterfeit notes handed to readers, bearing the signature of Miss Rebecca West.

CHAPTER NINE

THE RAPE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

One of the most amazing, and one might say most disheartening, things one learns in four decades of dealing with editors is that they refuse to believe in historic facts they do not want to believe. They are not unlike other people.

Once a year for about thirty years the editors of America publish an editorial in praise of "brave little Finland," "the only nation to pay its war debts."

This is not true. It cannot be true, inasmuch as Finland was not a nation (in World War I) and therefore could not have contracted war debts in the United States. The loans on which it pays annual interest are not patriotic war loans, but common commercial loans floated after the war, and while a nation is to be honored for meeting obligations, there is no point to the news stories and editorials because the gesture is meaningless.

Recently a writer of a Vermont newspaper sent me a copy of an editorial exposing the myth. But it was not published. The furious owner of the paper suppressed it. The editorial writer to prove his point brought in volume 12 of the Encyclopedia Britannica and read from page 464: "After the Armistice the new states . . . Finland . . . received ad-

vances for various purposes." The owner simply shook his head.

As for the Britannica report on the massacre of Finnish patriots by Baron Mannerheim and the establishment of a fascist state by that dictator, the newspaper editors of our country in the past 10 years have simply refused to believe this can be true. Mannerheim is a hero.

There are editors who do not want to know, and there are also editors who do not know. And there are people who ought to know better. Take for example the case of Upton Sinclair, one of the most important writers of our time, who is known in the world of journalism for applying the phrase commonly associated with the oldest profession, "The Brass Check," to a book of personal experiences with and general criticism of newspapers. Mr. Sinclair learned at the cost of mental anguish that the press is vulgar, that it invades privacy, and that it continually lies about labor and liberal movements, but is on the side of reaction, the big money, and the status quo.

So shocking has been the novelist's experience with the press that even nowadays, when he is famous and accepted, he still insists when asked for a statement on having it published in full or not at all. He is still suspicious.

On April 11, 1949, Mr. Sinclair was quoted by the Associated Press as saying that "the rape of Czechoslovakian democracy destroyed the last trace of hope I had of any good to come from the Soviet Union." (A reading of the complete original statement in the *Tribune* (London) of April 8 shows that this paragraph is as quoted.)

Mr. Sinclair for a generation was the most widely read American in the Soviet Union, and was generally considered a friend of that nation. He gives several reasons for turning on the U.S.S.R.; but the one about "the rape of Czechoslovakian democracy," as the *Tribune* has it, indicates that after all these years of suspecting and criticizing the American press Mr. Sinclair has accepted as true one of the great myths it has used to inflame the American people against that

country. Mr. Sinclair, supposedly the greatest of skeptics, has apparently accepted as true the sensational, exaggerated, and at times lying headlines of the American press, such as the following:

REDS SEIZE CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Extra!
Bulletin**

By the United Press.

PRAGUE, Feb. 24.—The Communists seized control of Czechoslovakia today, nine years less three weeks after the Nazis overran it.

A decree of the communist Interior Ministry converted Czechoslovakia into a police state in fact and in name. . . Communist Minister Vaclav Nosek . . . turned the authority over to communist Action Committees. . .

(World-Telegram, 8-column streamer).

**PRAGUE POLICE SHOOT STUDENTS AS BENES ACCEPTS RED
CABINET**

**Five Anti-Communists Reported Hit in March near
President's Palace**

**by George Pipal
United Press Staff Writer**

PRAGUE, Feb. 25.—Hard-pressed President Eduard Benes accepted a Communist-picked cabinet today, putting the formal seal of authority on the communist seizure of Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, it was reported that state police fired into a mass of demonstrating students. . . *(World-Telegram).*

**BENES BOWS TO COMMUNISTS, GOTTWALD FORMS CABINET: ONE
SLAIN IN PRAGUE PROTEST**

By Albion Ross

Special to the *New York Times* (February 26).

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA UNDER COMMUNIST RULE: BENES YIELDS,
ACCEPTS GOTTWALD CABINET; POLICE FIRE INTO ANTI-RED
RALLY, KILL TWO**

By Seymour Freidin

By Wireless to the *Herald Tribune* (February 26).

**STUDENT EYEWITNESS TELLS HOW POLICE OPENED FIRE
[A United Press dispatch which *PM* also published,
February 26].**

STALIN'S CZECH GRAB CASTS PALL LIKE THAT OF 1939 OVER
EUROPE

Only Fear of A-Bomb Believed Staying Red Army

By William Philip Simms

(Scripps-Howard feature, 4-column head, page 1, *World-Telegram*, February 26).

And so on for the last days of February, and into March and April, until the American people, including Upton Sinclair, the spiritual father of all skeptics about the press, were convinced that there had been "a rape of Czechoslovakia."

Rape, says Webster, means "to seize and take away by force; to plunder; to despoil" but that definition is archaic. In law it has another meaning, and in popular understanding it also must entail force and violence, and that is what the headlines did say. The *Times* had it "one slain in Prague protest" and the *Herald Tribune* had "police fire into anti-red rally, kill two," and according to the American Embassy in Prague—which based its statement on the hysterical shouting of students who took refuge there—five had been killed. The United Press had actually sent out an "eyewitness account" beginning with the words "Five students were hit by police gunfire." This was the type of page 1 news for weeks.

But when the government—not termed "red" or "communist" or, as Columnist Simms would have people believe, "grabbed" by Stalin—stated officially that "rumors about the incidents led by inciters are untrue, baseless and exaggerated" the press either suppressed this item or buried it on an inside page where it could not undo the hysteria caused by the front-page headlines.

The police did not fire against the students. No one was killed. All the lying headlines for days were based on an accidental discharge of a weapon—proved to be one not belonging to the police—which resulted in a bullet, ricocheting, wounding a student in the leg. That was all the bloodshed, violence, murder, and rape of the occasion. And

not a newspaper in America ever apologized for the great deception.

Nevertheless, there had been a revolution in Prague that February 1948. If anyone wanted to know the truth about it he could, for example, read it in the *Christian Century* of the following May 12th, when Dr. Josef L. Hromadka (who had been for 10 years professor of theology at Princeton Theological Seminary and one year dean of the Jan Hus theological seminary of the University of Prague) said in reply to a question on the causes of the basic misunderstandings in the West:

A distinctly oversimplified explanation of the events of February 20-27. Only very rarely have I read a reference to the indigenous roots of the February revolution. It was a real revolution, a deep transformation of the social and economic structure of the country. We may interpret it as the final, irreparable breakdown of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie.

If one sees in the February events just an ordinary political crisis or a Soviet expansion, and if one overlooks the magnitude of the internal upheaval, one easily gets lost in indignation at minor, secondary aspects of the change. The Czechoslovak nation has started a new era of its history. The country has become a socialistic state. We may disagree with the methods applied by the victors, but one must not ignore the fact that the defeated groups lacked a constructive plan, or political skill, and a real knowledge of what was going on in history and in the country. Without the background of the international tension and of the Soviet power, the development of Czechoslovakia would have followed a more normal democratic process. However, the victory of the Czechoslovak communists must not be interpreted as a mere machination of the Soviet Union. It was also to a certain extent a manifestation of the weakness of the groups the West had been relying on.

Of course the truth is not headline news. There had indeed been a revolution. The 1945 or second republic had drawn up a constitution providing for nationalization of industry, division of the landed estates, and other vital reforms as drastic as the British, perhaps more so, but not totally communistic. However, under the coalition, in which reactionary

parties participated and in which oldtime fascists, including the followers of the traitor Monsignor Tiso infiltrated, there had been no attempt at the radical change the constitution promised.

When the right wing 12 cabinet members resigned, the left wing, consisting of several parties, asked President Benes to put it in charge of the new cabinet. Benes hesitated (and was lost).

At this time there occurred the only incident which might be considered extra-legal, although the government parties claim it was not illegal; the Action Committees were formed everywhere and they marched into the main square of Prague, demanding that the left coalition be entrusted with governing. They marched and shouted and made speeches, but there was no violence. It was one of the largest mass demonstrations in the history of the nation.

There are of course two sides to every story, and one side claims that these Action Committees consisted totally of Communists, and that their action was illegal. It is possible that Communists in many cases inspired these committees, but actual investigation shows they consisted of members of at least four parties, and what they did is demonstrate. They came out by the hundreds of thousands and President Benes is reported to have said that this proved to him that the majority of the people wanted a left regime, and he offered the premiership to the Left, including the Communists. All this was perfectly legal.

No one was killed. The entire violence of the "revolution" was confined to headlines in the United States newspapers. A resident eyewitness journalist, Walter Storm, reported on March 24, 1948:

As the volume of denunciation, anger and falsification by the politicians and press of the Western countries mounted up, I saw that something more informative and factual was required—something which would post the sober truth against the wild distortions which were poisoning the minds of millions of Czechoslovakia's former friends. . .

The changes were effected constitutionally, peacefully and legally. The important thing about this crisis were precisely speeches, resolutions and communiques. . .

There was much more hysteria and fear in the editorial offices of British and American newspapers than there was in Prague. The Sunday papers were hot with abuse and full of stories of 'terror and intimidation', of a population 'cowering in fear' of the Security Police. Yet if anything was absent, it was an atmosphere of fear. There was a feeling of excitement, a knowledge that these were important hours, but the majority of the population were glad, not dismayed, that this was happening.

There were police on the streets, it is true. There were more than usual, and some were armed, as they would be in any country in the midst of a national emergency. . . On Monday (February 23) the Action Committee commenced to spring up in factories, ministerial offices and shops; in towns, villages and rural communities. . . Some were elected at meetings of employees, others were started by a few workers. . . Mostly the initiative was taken by the communists, but not always so. In the village where I live it was the village stationmaster, a member of the National Socialist Party. . . In the Kolben Danek works it was the directors themselves who took the initiative in forming the Action Committee. . .

The Western newspapers have made great capital out of the Action Committees. . . Action was taken against three classes of persons: those who were known to be hostile to the government program and were in positions where they could harm the work of their organization in the national plan; those who were owners of factories or businesses scheduled for nationalization, and known black marketeers. . . The basic idea of the Action Committees was to remove all those persons who had been obstructing the carrying out of the aims of the May 1945 Revolution. . . .

Some New York papers [published] demented headlines, 'Stalin's Latest Grab,' "Russians Seize Czechoslovakia." To anyone in Czechoslovakia the idea that the Soviet Union manipulated the crisis or its solution is laughable. . .

Tuesday . . . By now the foreign press was working itself up to a real crescendo of fury. The Press Club . . . suddenly became full of unfamiliar faces—those of correspondents who had flown in from Vienna, Paris, Rome, Berlin, London, to cover the events which seemed to be rocking the outside world. Cynical, narrow men most of them were, who knew that their papers wanted a particu-

lar kind of story, and were determined to supply it, regardless of what they saw.

While thousands of people in the streets were demonstrating support for Gottwald, they sat in gloomy coffee-houses, listening to the complaints of a handful of disgruntled businessmen or conferred for hours in closed sessions with embassy officials.

And the next day their newspapers proclaimed the views of the businessmen or embassy officials as the views of the Czechoslovak people. They visited no factories or farms. They were unimpressed by the token strike, by the mass meetings or the congress of works councils. Instead they reported every rumor . . . yards of cables about a "reign of terror". . .

The National Socialist, the People's and the Slovak Democratic Parties lost control of the government, and the new coalition regime of non-partisans, Social Democrats, Communists, Slovak Freedom Party, and others formed a new administration which divided the land and nationalized the factories in accordance with the Constitution proclaimed by Benes in 1945.

Rape implies violence; it is illegal. Was the new regime legally constituted? One reliable reply is the following:

The crisis was precipitated by the resignation of the members of three parties of the National Front. We have got a new National Front now, and it is necessary to co-operate with it. The new Government has been installed in a constitutional way. . . In 1918 Czechoslovakia carried through a change without bloodshed. It was the same this time.

The author: Jan Masaryk—in an interview with the Paris daily *L'Ordre*, reprinted in *Daily Review*, Prague, March 2, 1948.

The Jan Masaryk Tragedy

The average American, misinformed by his press, believes that Czechoslovakia was raped. Certain members of Congress, more ignorant or more sinister than the average American, proclaim to their colleagues that the Russians did the raping,

others are content to have the raping done by unidentified "reds," and still others say it was the reds or Communists of Czechoslovakia itself who committed the crime. These persons (whose weighty words are quoted by a friendly press) do not know—or if they know they keep it silent—that the Communists were the largest party in the nation, they were therefore Czechoslovakians, or the legally married spouse of the nation and therefore could not be even under the suspicion of committing rape.

Besides believing in this crime, the average American also believes that a crime was committed against a well-known citizen of Czechoslovakia, the son of its George Washington, Jan, the son of Thomas Garrigue Masaryk.

Just what the crime was is not so well known. The official statement said suicide. But ever since that March day following the second postwar revolution, different versions of a crime have been told the American people. Inasmuch as a man has only one life and it is ended by only one death, it is apparent that if any one of the versions told by the writers, newspapers, and magazines who do not accept the suicide theory is true, then the remaining majority versions must of necessity be false.

On the very day of the report of the suicide the American press began publishing rumors, innuendoes, and sensations. Here are two headlines on Associated Press items of March 10, 1948:

(1) JAN MASARYK, CZECH FOREIGN MINISTER, LEAPS TO HIS DEATH

(2) REDS FORCED SUICIDE, OFFICIAL SAYS

No. 1 is a straightforward report from Prague (uncensored) whereas No. 2 is a London interview with General Lev Prchala which itself contains absolutely no basis for the headline except the statement that Masaryk "was under 'terrific pressure to bring him into line.'" (The two Associated Press items quoted are from the *Dayton Daily News*.)

The august *Times* had a report from its own correspond-

ent, Albion Ross, well-known reactionary listed as "inimical" in the foreign offices of all the Eastern states, saying "Jan Masaryk . . . jumped to his death." Inserted in this factual item however, was a paragraph in parenthesis saying "Czechoslovak citizens and a close friend of M. Masaryk in London expressed doubt that he had committed suicide. Dr. Jan Papanek . . . also said he could not believe the suicide report." These were only rumors, expressions by people who had no facts, no evidence, nothing but their emotions. The *Times* ran this curiously worded 4-column headline:

MASARYK KILLED, A SUICIDE REDS SAY

The liberal daily *PM*, which usually devoted some space to noting the peccadilloes, errors and falsehoods of the press, added to the confusion with a home-written item, frontpaged with the headline: "WHERE IS BENES?" In the penultimate paragraph of almost two columns it stated that "Benes was 'convalescing' at his summer home." Next day *PM* had a small United Press item headed "Benes Leaves Seclusion for Masaryk Funeral." This was but one of the hundreds of Benes items which if not false were *suggestio falsi*. Newspaper men knew, and editors ought to have known, that Benes had suffered a stroke in 1943, and all the reports of his being intimidated and terrorized into a state of weakness and trembling by the "reds" were untrue; Benes for five years was a broken man, and it was not politics which undermined him.

The rumor-mongering became more strident in time. The *Chicago Sun-Times* published under the signature of its foreign news editor, Irving Pflaum, a sensational item beginning: "Evidence that Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia was murdered by communists has been revealed to me by highly authoritative persons. This evidence includes the testimony of an eyewitness who saw the Foreign Minister's body shortly after his alleged suicide . . . the body bore no signs of blood. . ." The full page headlines of the Marshall Field affiliate paper, *PM*, was:

REFUGEE CZECH OFFICIALS SAY THEY HAVE
PROOF COMMUNISTS MURDERED MASARYK

Newsweekly *Time* took up the murder story in its June 29th issue, saying: "Persistent rumors whispered that Masaryk had been murdered. In Washington, Juray Slavik, former Czech ambassador to the United States, said that Masaryk had been bludgeoned to death (after he had shot two of his assailants) and that after death his body had been dumped from his study window."

But the big news was the story in the *Saturday Evening Post* of August 21, headlined with a question mark ("Was Masaryk Murdered?"), featured, advertised in the newspapers and on the radio. Of the author, O. Henry Brandon, the *SEP* said he was "world diplomatic correspondent of the *Sunday Times* of London, for years . . . a personal friend of ex-President Eduard Benes, . . . and . . . Masaryk . . . distinguished for an intimate special knowledge of Czechoslovak affairs." The *Saturday Evening Post* naturally did not give the information the Czech Foreign Office has on this writer, which is: "Henry Brandon is the former Prague citizen Heinz Brandeis, for years sports reporter of the *Prager Tageblatt*." According to the Czech Foreign Office Brandon was no friend of either Benes or Masaryk, not even as closely acquainted as political reporters, being only a sports writer. However, this is not very important.

What is important is that ten or fifteen million Americans are given a yarn intended to stir up hatred, cold-war hatred, against a foreign country, the yarn based entirely on what one man said, or what others said, mostly hearsay, rumor, conjecture. In the old days, when the *Saturday Evening Post* was praising the fascist system of Italy and hailing Mussolini as one of the heroes of the world, it merely twisted the facts and suppressed those which did not fit into its policy; in the present case it had no facts to twist, merely 5,000 words of rumors very cleverly combined by a sports writer.

The Brandon piece begins: "Perhaps it is unkind to de-

stroy the suicide legend that was spun after Jan Masaryk's death by his friends and foes. It suited both so much better than the truth." Very disarming; now the readers are told they will at last get the truth. A few paragraphs later Brandon, who was not there, states that on February 19th, the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister M. Zorin "arrived unexpectedly . . . with five Russian generals . . . he supervised the Putsch." Even the most reactionary foreign correspondents, who dug up everything they could against the new regime, had not seen or heard about this Russian supervision of "the Putsch." Mr. Brandon also accounts for his startling information by saying someone told Benes he had seen "many typical Russian faces among the police." The Czechoslovaks of course are Slavs, and the Russians are Slavs, and this may account for the Slavic type of face, but the Prague sports writer sees something sinister.

Then follows the old Benes hoax. According to the *Saturday Evening Post* writer: "They saw a different Benes enter. His head was erect, but his face was twisted with pain. He stared into space, and in a curiously stiff manner walked slowly towards an easy chair, as if with the last physical strength left in him. Then he sat down in the chair and stared out through the window, speechless."

This is an excellent example of Tennyson's half-truth. It is a faithful description of Benes—but not of the President frightened by historic events and terrorized or intimidated by the new regime, but of a man who never recovered from a stroke, who remained partly paralyzed for years, and who was to die within a few months.

Finally on page 143, after thousands of words of hearsay, Brandon goes into his blood and thunder story saying without qualification: "Masaryk's plan to flee the country became known to the security police. So they came to arrest or kill him that night. In self-defense, Masaryk first used his revolver, killing possibly four people. Having no bullets left for himself, and with the remaining men closing in on him,

he was forced nearer and nearer the window. Either he was resisting and the men threw him out of the window, or, refusing to be overpowered by them, Masaryk himself took the plunge as a reaction to overwhelming fear, not as a form of voluntary suicide.

“This would fit with the facts. . . .

“Whatever the exact methods used in this murder, it is clear that Masaryk did not voluntarily commit suicide. . .”

Further proof: “four coffins left the Czernin Palace,” the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

But an entirely different story is vouched for as the truth by the Scripps-Howard service which in January 1949 syndicated a series of articles signed by Dr. Frank Polak “as told to William H. Newton,” staff writer. Dr. Polak said he had spent seven years in a Soviet concentration camp, managed to escape “with the help of Jan Masaryk,” and was just on his way to thank the Foreign Minister when the tragedy occurred. The true story he got from “a close friend of Mr. Masaryk [who] spoke to him shortly before he died.” The story as told by the Scripps-Howard ghost:

Mr. Masaryk was not killed at the ministry nor when he was thrown out of the window. He was dead before this happened. He had gone secretly to an air field to meet the plane that was to take him out of the country. There at the air field he was caught and killed by a Czech who was a member of the communist secret police. His body was quickly returned to the ministry and the Soviet NKVD called in.

The NKVD arranged a fake suicide. The Czech policeman who had shot Mr. Masaryk was himself shot by the NKVD to prevent his ever telling the story. That is why a witness saw two coffins instead of one being carried out of the ministry.

Time had Mr. Masaryk shoot down two assailants, the *Saturday Evening Post* made it four; the *SEP* had four coffins going out of the ministry, but the Scripps-Howard service saw only two; the *SEP* had it a shooting affair in the ministry, but Scripps-Howard had it a lonely assassination on the

air field, and there are all sorts of smaller newspaper and news services accounts and no two agree although each claims it is the truth at last.

Ten, twenty, or fifty million readers may have had their minds influenced by the foregoing yarns published in magazines and newspapers which live by sensation-mongering and have a long record of slanting their articles to fit their policy. Not one of them is a liberal publication. A liberal, Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman & Nation*, mentioned (June 12, 1948) the alleged "evidence" of foul play being offered in London. "I am satisfied," he concluded, "that these suspicions, natural in the circumstances, are unfounded. Masaryk was in acute pain, not able to sleep; he was shortly going for a rest cure. He had serious private difficulties which the public knows nothing of. . . Mental trouble was recurrent in his family; he often spoke of his fear that his mind, too, might become unhinged. But I was only convinced when I talked to personal friends of his to whom he had in effect said good-bye a few days before and who knew of the arrangements he had made for winding up his personal affairs."

What is one to believe? In addition to the *New Statesman & Nation* there are other honest liberal publications which reach a few thousand readers only, and which tell a story at complete variance with the murder story of the mass circulation magazines and news services. The reader can choose a magazine or newspaper known for its history of verity or a big magazine or big news service known for its history of yellow journalism.

This is one way of estimating the truth. But in the Masaryk affair it is evident that since each and every one of the writers and publications which claims to tell the "inside story" differs with the other, and since only one version can possibly be true, then it is apparent that even those who want to accept the murder theory must choose just one story and must then admit that the majority of reports given by their colleagues are falsehoods.

Government Protests Columnist

One of the most powerful new factors in the making of public opinion in America is the syndicated columnist; and a still newer event is the entry into the foreign field of this craftsman.

Column writing is not new, but its importance coincides with the decline of the editorial as a friendly guide, enlightener, and sometimes perverter of public opinion. Laymen, suspicious but still not convinced that a large part of the press was venal and almost all of it devoted to interests which were not the general welfare of the majority, first turned against the editorial page in large numbers, sometime before the First World War. They were then supplied with all sorts of columns, poetry and good humor, sports comment, conning towers and line-o-types-or-two, and eventually political events and finally world events, including columns written by writers who invaded the field of the foreign correspondents for the purpose of "interpreting" the news.

Today columnists almost without exception express views, sometimes more liberal and "free" than that of several of the newspapers which buy them, but the most popular, the men and women who can claim millions of readers every day are usually those whose views harmonize with the editorial position of the majority of newspapers; that is, they are anti-labor, reactionary, pro status quo, illiberal and anti-liberal, occasionally pro-fascist and always against the radicalism of the liberal-left.

The column writer in the foreign field, like most writers there, takes greater liberties with the facts and the truth, apparently upon the assumption that distance lends security against libel suits. At home an individual who has been libeled or abused in the most filthy way (as for example Westbrook Pegler's treatment of President Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt, a colleague columnist), cannot get a retraction from about 98 per cent of the newspapers which publish the offenders, because it would require millions of

dollars to sue the hundred or more newspapers which publish the most popular—and most vile—columnists. By actual test in the case of a column which a lawyer held to be libelous, only 5 of 107 papers as much as replied to a complaint, and only three published what might pass for a correction or apology, and then hardly within the code of ethics.

The following illustration of the difficulties even governments have in getting columnists to correct, retract, and perhaps apologize for wrongs done their country is given in some detail, thanks to the fact that all the documents in the case were made available to this writer.

This is but one of scores of illustrations, inasmuch as government officials in at least five countries of Europe complained of the same situation; news has been falsified; an ethical correction is not made. (By ethical correction is meant a full reply, published as the law in France would require it to be published, in the same space, same place, same headline, therefore having the same value and the same effect. A reply, full or censored, appearing in the letters-to-the-editor department does not undo the harm, and permitting the accused journalist to repeat his attack, only aggravates matters.)

On March 6, 1949, syndicated columnist Stewart Alsop published a big news scoop. The *Herald Tribune* headline read:

A CZECH "SOCIALIST" MEETS HIS FATE

Stewart Alsop Hears Fierlinger Is in Jail in Prague

According to intelligence reports considered entirely reliable a short man with a sharp face and shifty eyes is now in jail in Prague. [Editorial note: for a Democratic reporter Dewey has shifty eyes; for a Republican, Roosevelt had and Truman has shifty eyes; this nonsense is repeated forever]. His name is Dr. Zdenek Fierlinger, and since the coup of February, 1948, he has been "Socialist" Vice-Premier of Czechoslovakia.

The arrest of Dr. Fierlinger has real political significance. . .

The rest of the item was chiefly "significance."

It so happened that on the exact day on which Mr. Alsop's

great news scoop was appearing throughout the world, a Reuter's dispatch from Prague had Dr. Fierlinger delivering a public speech on the "lies and inventions" concerning the return of Germans to the Sudetenland. The curious reader will find it on page 2 of the *Times*, column 5, under the little headline "Germans' Return Denied."

Despite its numerous unhappy experiences with newspapers which lied and refused to tell the truth, the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, knowing the reputation of papers such as the *Washington Post* and *Herald Tribune* and of Stewart Alsop himself, tried again to nail the falsehood that Fierlinger was in jail. It sent the two most notable Alsop papers the following:

Statement of the Czechoslovak Embassy
Concerning a Column by Stewart Alsop
Published in the Sunday Papers of
March 6, 1949.

The *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Washington Post* and other papers carried in their Sunday editions of March 6, 1949, a column by Stewart Alsop dealing with the alleged arrest of Vice Premier Zdenek Fierlinger.

The Press Department of the Czechoslovak Embassy sent thereupon the following wire to the Editors of the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Washington Post*:

"The Stewart Alsop story about Czechoslovak Vice Premier Zdenek Fierlinger being in jail published in your edition of yesterday, Sunday, is nothing but another Alsop fabrication. I talked to Fierlinger today on the phone. Mr. Fierlinger was speaking from Hradcany Castle in Prague, from the Chancery of the President of the Republic Klement Gottwald whom he was just visiting. Informed about the Alsop story allegedly based upon entirely reliable intelligence reports Mr. Fierlinger remarked laughingly that there was neither a base nor intelligence in that story which by the way did not amaze him too much in view of the constant output of misinformation about Czechoslovakia by American journalists and radio commentators. Mr. Fierlinger authorized the Czechoslovak Embassy to qualify the Alsop story as a rather stupid and vicious falsehood.

Dr. F. C. Weiskopf, Minister-Plenipotentiary,
Embassy of Czechoslovakia."

The *Washington Post* immediately, and without trickery, published the Embassy protest on receipt (March 9th) but on the 11th ran the following arrogant statement from the columnist:

FIERLINGER'S FREEDOM

In reply to Dr. Weiskopf's letter of March 9, from the Czechoslovak Embassy, I suggest that the next time Dr. Weiskopf talks to Vice-Premier Dr. Zdenek Fierlinger by telephone he ask him the following questions:

Whether Mr. Fierlinger was not very recently held and questioned for some days; whether he has not now prepared a document intended to prove his unswerving allegiance to the present Communist regime in Czechoslovakia; and whether he has not been summoned to produce this document and other evidence of his obedience to the regime before a number of leaders of the Czech Communist Party in a few days' time.

No doubt the answers of Mr. Fierlinger to all these questions will be a resounding no, but in the past Mr. Fierlinger's trustworthiness has hardly equalled his talent for survival.

Stewart Alsop.

The *Herald Tribune* kept silent. On the 15th Dr. Weiskopf—who before becoming minister plenipotentiary was internationally known as a writer and novelist—addressed a note to Fitzhugh Turner of the *Herald Tribune's* Washington Bureau asking about the matter. Dr. Weiskopf also protested the *Washington Post's* reply by Alsop and this national newspaper on the 19th published the second letter but this time appended to it another reply by Alsop. Dr. Weiskopf said in part:

Using Mr. Alsop's method, I could suggest that you ask him whether he appropriated for himself silver spoons of Prague's Hotel Ambassador during his stay, and that you take his certainly forthcoming resounding No for a Yes.

The whole purpose of Mr. Alsop's questions and answers game is of course to cover up the fact that he was caught redhanded in the act of slanderous fabrication. . . . His subsequent attempt to smear Mr. Fierlinger's record of trustworthiness, coming from so notoriously untrustworthy and fabrication-minded a columnist as Mr. Alsop, is too cheap to be answered.

The Alsop reply, appended, restated that Dr. Fierlinger "was very recently held and questioned. . . . He has since written a document to disprove charges against him. . . . The above information comes from sources a great deal more reliable than Mr. Fierlinger or Dr. Weiskopf."

This second Alsop reply was even more outrageous than the first. The galled jade winced. Mr. Alsop's information could come from the State Department, whose information from Czechoslovakia—as well as its information from Hungary and other Eastern countries—was so unreliable that resident journalists had time and again quarreled with not only press attachés but with ministers and ambassadors over the misinformation they were sending home.

Dr. Weiskopf then wrote an indignant letter to the *Washington Post* for publication:

Velvyslanectvi Ceskoslovenske Republiky
Washington 8, D. C.

March 21, 1949.

In his rejoinder of March 19, Mr. Alsop only repeats the same story . . . But repeated fabrications—although recommended by Hitler as good propaganda—do not become by the mere fact of repetition less objectionable and reprehensible.

I challenge Mr. Alsop to state at which date Mr. Fierlinger was, as he alleges, "very recently held and questioned. . . ."

I likewise warn him not to use his wornout excuse that there are difficulties in getting news from Czechoslovakia. As matters stand, it is a hundred times easier for American journalists to enter Czechoslovakia, than it is for Czechoslovak journalists to come to this country. At present there are 27 registered American newspapermen in Czechoslovakia while only a single Czechoslovak correspondent has been allowed to enter the United States. . . .

Dr. F. C. Weiskopf
Minister Plenipotentiary

On March 23rd, seventeen days after the first request, twelve days after Alsop had already written his reply, the *Herald Tribune* printed the first Embassy letter. The second Embassy protest was not published anywhere.

One thing is obvious: Mr. Alsop had stated that Dr. Fierlinger "is now in jail in Prague." That statement was false. It is libelous. But the Czechoslovak Embassy could not sue the press for libel. The press, under a proposal then being debated at the United Nations, would have been ordered to publish the Embassy protest with the same headline and the same display, and that would have been justice. As it was, not even a sovereign nation could get a fair deal in the American press.

In Prague, as in Belgrade and Budapest, the Foreign Office has whole files bursting with clippings of American, British, French, and other press reports which are not only prejudiced and unfair but actually untrue.

Among the many which were shown to me was one which interested me especially because it involved the same columnist and one of the same newspapers—but the Paris edition this time, and therefore subject to the press law of France, a law which protects people, groups, religions, organizations, and nations from malicious libel.

In this instance, instead of merely asking for a correction the Czechoslovak Government instructed its Paris Embassy to consult a lawyer and to write to the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* that it would sue unless it got satisfaction. The Czech request said in part:

"The Embassy . . . forwards to you the following official rectification from the Czech Ministry of Justice as an answer to the column "Matter of Fact" by Stewart Alsop published on July 5 in your paper.

The writer of the column has damaged grossly and slanderously the honor of Dr. Alexej Cepicka, Minister of Justice, especially by referring to Dr. Cepicka as "jailed three times on criminal charges, once for rape." The truth is . . . he has never been in prison for the crimes cited in Mr. Alsop's article. . . ."

The truth was that Justice Minister Cepicka is one of the heroes of the Czechoslovak Resistance, that he fought the Nazis from the first, and was caught by the Gestapo in 1942

and sent to Oswiecim and Buchenwald concentration camps, and was rescued by the American Army.

"In this instance," Dr. Evzen Klinger, chief of the foreign press section of the Foreign Office pointed out to me, "we could state our own terms in asking a correction because it was obviously a case of criminal libel which the newspaper had committed.

"It is only in instances when personal libel has been printed that we can insist that the press live up to its so-called code of ethics; by law we get the correction in the same place, the same size, the same heading. Otherwise the best we can hope for is a paragraph or two, hidden, or in the letters-to-the-editor column, where few people see it.

"Our embassies in foreign countries send out protests to the newspapers only in extreme cases—when the lies against Czechoslovakia are too flagrant."

I asked if these letters were printed.

"Not always, but frequently," replied Dr. Klinger. "But we as journalists know that a letter of protest cannot undo the harm which the lies of the irresponsible press, especially the large part of the American press which attacks us, does to international relations. The worst thing is the daily campaign against us in the form of editorialized special articles."

I asked for an example.

"Here is one," replied Dr. Klinger. "It is from that same Stewart Alsop. It is from the *Herald Tribune* of May 28, 1948, and begins: 'Like all police states, Czechoslovakia is . . .'

"Well, if Czechoslovakia were a police state we would have put Mr. Alsop in jail for this false statement and other false statements he has made about this country, and for the opinions and propaganda he has expressed which are not only inimical but untrue.

"He speaks of a 'night of terror expected,' of a 'twilight of terror,' and predicts 'mass trials, mass executions completing the pattern, already well begun, of soviet-dominated police states.'

“Mr. Alsop predicts! Can a government ask a correction of a prediction? Or must we wait a month, or a year or more, and then ask for a correction?”

“When we catch Mr. Alsop in a criminal libel we get a correction. But when he publishes vicious propaganda such as the foregoing, what can the Czechoslovak Government do?”

The foregoing interview was held several months after the Alsopian fable of “expected” nights of terror, mass trials, mass executions, was printed. More than a year went by, and Mr. Alsop and the *Herald Tribune* and the many newspapers printing the same syndicated columnist never published one word to say that the prediction was propaganda, hate-making propaganda and nothing else.

One thing can be said: if there has been any rape in Czechoslovakia, it has been the rape of truth committed by the American press and some famous columnists.

CHAPTER TEN

PRESS AND CARDINAL

The three most important things to know about the Mindszenty case in this writer's opinion, are:

1. The Hungarian Cardinal was never accused of preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. (This statement was made by an upstate New York minister.) Mindszenty was in politics.

2. The hero of one group or party can be the traitor of another group or party. It was so with George Washington—considered a traitor by the regime of George III, a hero by the rebels—and it is so with Mindszenty.

3. In no other country of the world—not even in Vatican State—was there such a campaign of hysteria and falsehood about the Mindszenty affair as in the American press.

It is the third of these facts that will be considered in this chapter, not because they concern the Mindszenty case, but because this is one of the best illustrations in modern history of many of the charges brought against our press by not only the Commission on Freedom of the Press but by every critic within the profession and without; and an additional illustration of the most tabu subject in American journalism: the power and pressure of the Vatican in the newspaper world.

Among the many ways in which the American press differs

from that of the rest of the world is its concern for personalities.

It invades privacy as no other press in the world. It sensationalizes the affairs of people, it mongers gossip, it caters to the moronic mentality of many of its readers, it is a peeping Tom which defies the law, it is so vulgar that even the Commission, which concerned itself with greater things, such as falsehood, came to the decision that the American press can vulgarize mankind.

But there is also another angle to the use of the human interest story, a more serious one. A good illustration is the case of Jan Masaryk, as related in the preceding chapter. The personal tragedy of one man was developed into a great propaganda campaign against a nation because it had human appeal, it could be dramatized, and it was tremendously effective. The myth of a "rape of Czechoslovakia," with the "shooting" of students, almost daily reports of "police state terrorism," and intimidation, arrest, the silence of the last remaining opposing voices (an illustration is the Fierlinger case) and the fake "murder" of Jan Masaryk, are the types of news stories the American press uses in its undeclared war against the East, all very effectively. Most effective was the appeal to angry passions through the fakery in the Mindszenty case.

When religious passions are also involved, superimposed on a great human interest story, dramatized in an individual, with all the elements of tragedy—arrest, imprisonment, torture, drugging, confession, trial—the effect can be both profound and universal. This is indeed what happened.

The propaganda campaign to turn American public opinion against the Hungarian regime consisted largely of printing about ten times as much hearsay, rumors, charges, and falsehood as real news. The news could not be challenged: the facts were simply that the Cardinal, who made no secret of being in opposition to the regime, was arrested for actions he thought right and which the laws of the nation defined as treason. In America such opposition would not be con-

sidered treason, but that does not alter the fact that in another country such opposition is treason. The Cardinal could not deny opposition. He was proud of it. He did deny being an enemy of the people, but that is another matter. Whether it was wise or stupid of the government to make a martyr of the Cardinal, is also another matter.

Among the principles Mindszenty opposed were the separation of church and state (which every American, including the late Al Smith, who handed this down as a Catholic doctrine, believes in). Of even more importance to the regime was the great land reform, which took from Mindszenty the 900,000 acres his church controlled. There was also lay instead of clerical control of schools. Mindszenty opposed that. He admitted such opposition for years. The regime considered this treasonable.

The reader will note that throughout the weeks of the pro-Mindszenty press campaign not one of the main issues was even mentioned by most of the press. Every editorial we have seen to date omits or suppresses the main facts but rails and bellows against the Hungarian government. Here are a few samples of how the United States propaganda machine began to work, day by day, in mid-January 1949 after having previously published the news as received:

January 15. *Boston Pilot* published a letter from State Department Counselor Charles E. Bohlen, quoting Acting Secretary of State Lovett saying the charges were "patently false" and reporting that the Voice of America would broadcast the "truth."

16th. The *Herald Tribune*, to its credit, published an item headed "Mindszenty Arrest Backed by Protestants." This was an Associated Press story from Budapest. The olympian *Times* suppressed it. So did most other papers, inasmuch as editorially they had backed the Cardinal.

19th. Eleanor Roosevelt reported in her column a communication from the editor of *In Fact* (although she did not so identify it) telling the facts about the land reform which the Cardinal fought, also the separation of church and state,

especially the freeing of the public schools from church control. Mrs. Roosevelt is to be congratulated on observing the ethics of journalism, but the *World-Telegram* and other papers, which printed her approval of the Cardinal, suppressed this column.

20th. Both United Press and Associated Press cabled long Budapest reports of Mindszenty's "purported confession," which words newspapers printed in quotation marks. The *Times* buried it on page 20. This was the official government's Yellow Book with photostats, documents, and complete evidence. This document was available in America. But to this day the evidence has not been published—according to John Gunther in his book *Behind the Curtain*.

Up to now it was evident that the American press was merely manhandling the news to suit its conviction or out of fear of reprisals by the followers of the Cardinal—just as it did during the Spanish War.

On the next day, however, the big sensational era of lying began. The Associated Press cabled an item from Vienna which the leading Scripps-Howard chain paper, the *World-Telegram*, now yellower than the Hearst press, headed: "MINDSZENTY CONFESSION LAID TO 5-DAY TORTURE." Like thousands of frauds which are passed on the American public this one was a quotation from a foreign paper, and it quoted an anonymous person who had fled from Budapest.

That fake at least gave a newspaper source. But that night Lowell Thomas [for Ivory Soap, on a nationwide hookup, Columbia Broadcasting System] launched into a more harrowing account of the "torture" than in the original—and did not say it was merely a Vienna newspaper story. Thomas declared that Mindszenty was drugged and "forced" to watch Father Sackar being tortured. Thomas described the beating, the bloody face, the 82-hour ordeal as "one by one his aides were tortured." Thomas gave authority to merely a rumor.

January 22. The *Times* joined the sensation-mongers with a column story, quoting *The Tablet*, diocesan weekly of London noted for its previous propaganda for fascist dictators.

This weekly charged that "any person arrested by the political police is starved for a few days. Then for a week or two the prisoner receives salted fish but no water. When . . . on the verge of dying" he is given "actedron" which "destroys the nerve center. It doesn't kill, only paralyzes." The *Times* followed this with a report on actedron found in a Hungarian medical journal. It also repeated the Vienna "eyewitness" fraud about torture.

From this day on there was no limit to which the American press did not go and no depth to which it did not sink in propagandizing the American people to make them favor the accused Cardinal and hate the Hungarian regime. From this day on every American Cardinal, bishop, congressman, mayor, who repeated the fake about the drugs and torture got into the papers. (But never a word about land reform, separation of church from state, free public schools, black market money deals, meetings with Monarchists, and other reasons for the arrest.)

Against this tidal wave of propaganda and falsehood a few facts could not prevail. The *New York Post* published a piece by Albert Deutsch blowing up the whole drug story. The dread drug actedron was nothing more or less than the well-known American benzedrine, which millions of people have taken. It did not destroy the nerve center, break down moral courage, or do anything of the sort.

But the story had now become part of the hot cold-war against the European "satellite" countries, and nothing could stop it.

A dispenser of slanted news via the radio like Lowell Thomas reaching ten or fifteen or more millions, a news-weekly like *Time* (which on January 24th devoted half a page to the story of "terrorism") reaching 5,000,000 or more, and all the avenues of mass communication were united on a prejudiced, unfair presentation of the news. One honest paper like the *Post* could reach only 400,000 or so.

The first week of February the American press really showed what it could do in following the line of a foreign

state (the Vatican) and propagandizing a people through the repetition of falsehood and rumor. Here is only a small fraction of the record:

February 1: Twenty Church of England clergymen issued a statement saying "Christians . . . should not make judgment without a careful study of the facts." Associated Press sent it; *Herald Tribune* used it; most papers suppressed it. Thirty-three Catholic priests in Budapest issued a statement endorsing the Hungarian regime for its land reforms, etc. Mostly suppressed. *United Nations World*, one of the few really fair publications in America, reported the "majority within the Council of Hungarian Bishops" partly blamed the Cardinal for the situation leading to his arrest.

February 3. The whole front page of many newspapers carried the big headline: "CARDINAL PUT ON TRIAL IN HUNGARY."

After the weeks of drugging and torturing (in the United States press) the Cardinal appeared in his usual good health and made a straightforward statement. He admitted certain charges, denied treason. In other words he did not accept the charge that what he admitted was treason to the people; he challenged the laws of the regime.

One yellow journal tried to fake the news. The early edition of the *World-Telegram* had as its head: "MINDSZENTY ACCUSERS LIFT TRIAL CURTAIN TO CONFESSION THEME," but this was changed for the 7 P.M. edition to read: "COURT HEARS MINDSZENTY VOICE GUILT, BUT ECHOES RECALL TORTURE WARNING." But the news story, from its own United Press man, reported the Cardinal "stern and erect" and speaking in a "firm voice." The *World-Telegram* head was untrue.

The Cardinal had spoiled the news for the American papers. He had appeared in good health—and so had Father Sackar and others—and apparently there had been no torture or drugging. Even those who opposed the reactionary views of the Cardinal could admire his courage.

The redbaiting press, however, spent the days between the opening of the case and the sentence violently manhandling

the news, repeating over and again the drug and torture fakery.

February 4. One of the few fair and honest radio reports was given by Cecil Brown over the small independent station WMCA. Regarding the news service from Hungary, Brown said that "in these nations in such circumstances there is reason to suspect what is going on, but Mindszenty seems in full possession of his faculties" and there was no evidence he was mistreated. This broadcast of course reached only a comparatively few listeners; the newscasters screaming torture and drugging reached the millions.

The *New York Times*, on the morning of February 4, published (page 1, column 1) the straightforward Associated Press cable from Budapest which it honestly headed

MINDSZENTY DENIES PLOT BUT AFFIRMS GUILT IN PRINCIPLE

**Admits Most of Accusations Made Against Him by
Red Government in Hungary**

SAYS HE SOUGHT U.S. AID

**Cardinal Asks for Freedom to Try for Church-State Peace—
Court Refuses Plea."**

The text of the Cardinal's letter appears on page 4, most of which is devoted to the same story. On that page, however, appear the following:

Item: a report from Vienna "from unimpeachable sources" sent by Timesman John MacCormac who hates the Hungarian regime and devotes his time and space to attacking it, which claims that it had ordered the bishops to "sever all relations with the Vatican and agree to creation of a national Catholic church."

Item: a report from Albany that "DEWEY CONDEMNS TRIAL OF CARDINAL," one-third of a column; followed by a Washington item saying that Senator O'Connor of Maryland had denounced the trial as an attempt "to still the voice of religion."

Item: a "special" report to the *Times* from Budapest saying its own correspondent was refused a ticket to the trial; that "only one United States news organization, the United Press, was represented at the trial by an American," that the Associated Press and Hearst's INS were refused visas, although their local men were in the courtroom.

This was the beginning of a campaign by the American press itself to discredit its own correspondents in Hungary. With the arrival of reports from Budapest completely destroying the myth of torture, drugging, intimidation and terrorism, the hysterical propaganda campaign of the press, radio, editorials, cartoonists, columnists, commentators, and whatnots would have failed completely this day, and one way of saving it was to attack the reputation of the men sending the news. Inasmuch as the majority of the journalists were foreigners, this appeared to be a safe undertaking.

Item: on its editorial page the *Times* published a letter from Father Bernard Weaver likening the Mindszenty trial to the "fantastic conduct of the 'defendants' in the Soviet purge trials of the Middle Thirties." This was one of numerous letters which without exception favored the Cardinal. It is quite probable that if the *Times* were asked why it did not publish letters giving the contrary viewpoint it would reply that none such was received. And this might be true; but for this reason: that liberals have learned long ago that the *Times* exercises censorship in its letter column, that it favors those which agree with its policy, and that the rest have almost no chance of publication. (I have published documentary proof of this charge in other books.)

Item: the *Times* first editorial—"A Cardinal on Trial," ranged from bias to stark propaganda: "The strangulation of liberty that is being perpetrated in Eastern Europe . . . is illustrated again by the 'trial' . . ."

The facts are that for the majority, poor farmers and industrial workers, there is liberation, not strangulation—at least in Eastern European semantics.

The *Times* editorial continued: "Actually, of course, it is

not the Cardinal but the Hungarian 'Government' that is on trial. That 'Government' represents a communist usurpation of power achieved by violence and fraud and resting on the bayonets of the Russian occupation armies."

Here the *Times* is basing an editorial on some of the most fraudulent news reports ever written. Most special correspondents do not tell the truth. But an exception was CBS' Howard Smith, who not only disproved each of the foregoing statements, but presented the evidence. For example, he and Miss Ruth Lloyd of the United Press made a sudden unannounced visit to the supposedly dread political prison at 60 Andrassy Street where 4,000 political prisoners were supposed to be rotting away, tortured and terrorized. They found nineteen men there, all looking "healthy and well and there were no marks of maltreatment." As for Miss Lloyd, the United Press did not publish this news, nor, in fact, any news she sent out which did not conform to the UP's previous stories of police state, terrorism, packed prisons, denial of civil liberties and all the other falsehoods the American press has been publishing about Hungary ever since fascist Horthy and Hitler's Nazis were driven out of the country.

American resident correspondents in Hungary told me that the election had been honest, and that their colleagues who reported fraud and terrorism faked the news.

February 5. On this day, as on others, the factual news coming from reliable journalists in Budapest did not agree with the fakery and hysteria-making headlines and editorials of the American press. Again, as before and after, the trick of the American press was to drown out one column of truth with ten or twenty columns of propaganda. Here for example is the total Hungarian news for the day (taken from the *Herald Tribune*):

1. From Budapest, by UP: "MINDSZENTY DENIES USE OF FORCE ON HIM," the page 1 news story.
2. "CARDINAL PLANS PULPIT PROTEST ON MINDSZENTY." [Concerning Spellman.]
3. "PRIMATE'S TRIAL CALLED DECISION OF COMINFORM."

This was locally written by Seymour Freidin, formerly correspondent in Europe, one of the score of noted American journalists accused in Belgrade, Budapest, Prague, and other foreign offices of visiting these capitals for the purpose of sending out only unfavorable dispatches. Here Friedin pins the biggest red label of all on the Mindszenty trial—the Cominform label. No real evidence is given; it is the usual “think piece,” also known in journalism as a “stink piece,” and recently more and more popular in big newspapers whose editorial pages have lost considerable influence.

4. “VATICAN SAYS TRIAL OF CARDINAL TAKES ‘PATHOLOGICAL’ RED FORM.”

5. Washington: The National Catholic Welfare Conference has announced Sunday as a day of prayer, “Cardinal Mindszenty Day.”

6. Richmond: “Nagy Says Mindszenty Was Tortured by Reds.” The former premier of course knows nothing at all about this, but an irresponsible press quotes him every day it is possible to attack the regime which ousted him.

7. Washington: “U.S., BRITAIN PROTEST BAN AT PRIMATE’S TRIAL.”

8. London: The British note “reserves her rights” under the treaty to attend the court sessions.

9. Paris: The French Cardinal says the nation must choose between the church and communism.

These items, with a 2-column picture, make a total of seven columns. The *Times* used about the same space, had most of the same items, plus an additional one from its Mr. MacCormac in Vienna saying “the Cardinal was now a completely broken man” and that those who listened to the proceedings over the radio (sic!) were convinced the defendants were drugged.

That night Mutual Broadcasting Company, which claims it is the “world’s largest network,” had as a news commentator H. R. Knickerbocker, who was for years a Hearst man in Europe. (It is fair comment and not propaganda even now to put the Hearst label on Knickerbocker because in this

very broadcast he said: "I have a personal affection for the INS," the main Hearst news service.)

Knickerbocker told the millions of Mutual listeners that Hungary was "Stalin's puppet state," and that "no American correspondent has been admitted" to the trial. Inasmuch as the *Times* had that morning reported its man was there, and that one American had previously been accredited, either the *Times* or Mr. Knickerbocker was not telling the truth.

Then came the big smear: "Every correspondent is controlled by Stalin's Hungarian police." This was not true.

As for the Cardinal appearing hale and hearty, Knickerbocker had an explanation for this too: he had seen Russians, he said, use a "soft black-jack" to beat up prisoners, thus injuring them without leaving marks. And "we know drugs are used to obtain confessions." As for "torture," he brought in Ernest Hemingway to whom he had spoken five or ten years ago on that subject. Finally, to prove his points against the Hungarian "masters of the torture chamber," he said, "look at the photograph." The papers that day had printed a blurred picture of the trial. Mindszenty was completely out of focus.

The *World-Telegram* took on a new campaign. On page 2 it ran a 6-column headline: "DENIES CARDINAL WAS EVER ANTI-SEMITIC." For years there has been established as common knowledge the fact that the Cardinal—along with Hlond in Warsaw—was anti-Semitic. (There are other Cardinals who have done much for the Jews, including Cardinal Pacelli, the present Pope.) One of the best-known stories in Budapest concerns the anti-Semitic remarks made by Mindszenty to the British journalist Bertha Gaster. As she left she remarked that she was the daughter of a London Rabbi!

The trial came to a double climax in America on Sunday with the sermon by Cardinal Spellman and an item in the *Times* which was either not sent out by any American press service (AP, UP, INS) or was suppressed by the home offices. It was a British Reuters dispatch with the modest headline:

"Newsmen Deny Curbs at Mindszenty Trial." It was more important than that: it was a statement of almost all the journalists in Budapest giving the lie to the lies in the American press. Here are some extracts:

Budapest . . . Reporters covering the trial of Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, with two exceptions, issued today a statement denying that censorship of any kind was being enforced on their dispatches or that the official interpreters were guilty of distortion.

The two correspondents who did not sign were Edward Korry, of the UP, and Gabriel Pressman, representing the *New York Times* . . . The statement said:

"In view of untrue reports written and broadcast abroad about the journalists' coverage of the Mindszenty trial the undersigned foreign correspondents wish to state that we regard these charges as unfounded attacks upon the integrity of our own reporting and we categorically wish to deny:

"1. That censorship of any kind is being exercised. . . .

"2. That the translation . . . is inaccurate. . . .

"3. That the only correspondents granted visas or admitted to the courtroom are communist or communist sympathizers."

The signatories included: Michael Burn, *The Times*, London; Wilfred Burchett, *Daily Express*, London; Jeno (Eugen) Szatmari, INS; Dr. Endre Marton, AP of the U. S. and *Daily Telegraph*, London; Peter Furst, Reuters; the Rev. Stanley Evans, *Daily Worker*, London; and Dr. Imre Bekessy, *Szabadag*, Cleveland, U. S.

In the foregoing dispatch the *Times* inserted the statement that Mr. Korry had cabled he was not censored but he did not sign statements, this being a UP policy. The *Times* appended a paragraph saying the AP had said its Dr. Marton had signed without consulting headquarters. Apparently, however, the AP had not sent out the news, or certainly not the text.

This statement is of tremendous importance, because it has happened time and again that the entire press corps has been forced to take a similar action; and it has happened time and again that when the one and only item giving the lie direct to a whole chain reaction of distortion and falsehood is made available, the one and only means for its com-

munication, the press, suppresses it. This is naturally what happened in the American press.

Outside the *Times*, few newspapers used the dispatch. Generally there was suppression. The *Herald Tribune*, which is frequently more liberal than the *Times*, although it is an avowed Republican party organ, apparently handed the Budapest item to its ex-Budapest correspondent, Freidin, who proceeded to write around it an attack on the Hungarian press chief, Boldizsar.

"Red Press Chief Cracks Whip on Trial Reporters," read the Friedin headline, which stated there was a lack of trained American newspaper men at the trial. No mention of the fact, however, that Burns of the London *Times* and Burchett of the London *Express* were two of Europe's most reliable journalists representing two of the world's most powerful (and conservative, if not reactionary) newspapers. With such men present and with such men signing a statement protesting "untrue reports and broadcasts abroad" there was no reason for anyone casting doubt or dirt upon the action.

The *Times* wrote another editorial saying "most of the charges were palpably false," although it had not of course published the Yellow Book of charges. It repeated editorially the fraud about the Cardinal being tortured or given drugs to confess. The *Times*, and indeed the whole American press, missed a great opportunity here. Mindszenty, by confessing to most of the charges, was being a hero and a martyr to his own people, he was living up to his beliefs, he was putting into practice views safely expressed by the Pope to all the world, *rus et urbi*; in other words, the Cardinal was animated by a greater and more compelling motive than that credited to him by his world of friends and followers, he was defying the Kremlin and Marx and Rakosi and the modern ways of the world, he was fighting for the Church and its old rights to rule the thoughts and deeds of men, to educate the young, to control most of human life and endeavor. This little thing like "treason" to the Peoples Democracy of Hungary didn't really matter in such a struggle; it was, as Car-

dinal Spellman said that Sunday in New York, "rebellion to tyranny" which is "obedience to God." That would put the right tag on the Cardinal's actions. It would make a hero and martyr of him. But it would also destroy the whole defense, destroy the whole propaganda case in the American press. It would admit violation of the laws, all the way from money deals to treason.

That Sunday the 90,000,000 Americans (out of a total population of 148,000,000) who listen to the radio could hear Cardinal Spellman and Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen make statements about Mindszenty which were not in accordance with the facts. "The minions of Satan have drugged and tortured him," said Sheen, although he had no evidence; and "No American newspaper man was allowed to report the trial; only communist newspapers were there," is not only not true but requires an apology from anyone who believes in truth. The AP, UP and INS had non-communist journalists there. Cardinal Spellman brought up the matter of the out-of-focus photograph to prove that here was "a man tortured and drugged," and repeated the line several times, and compared Mindszenty to Archbishop Stepinac, a most unfortunate comparison for anyone who knew about that traitor. Finally, Cardinal Spellman concluded by stating that "we should not grieve at the death of Cardinal Mindszenty" which suggested that the death penalty had been set. Actually, under the Hungarian constitution the death penalty was never in question as it does not exist in peacetime. What was not mentioned by Spellman was the Mindszenty confession of meeting the pretender to the throne Otto at the offices of Cardinal Stritch in Chicago, and Tibor Eckhardt in the vestry of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* It is safe to say that 99% of the American people can see no harm in all this, but in Hungary this is just as much treason as that committed by any of the Americans who worked for Hitler, who escaped the death penalty, and who are now in jail.

* "Eckhardt, one of the first of the Hungarian fascists and white terrorists"—London *Evening Standard*, September 11, 1942.

The reader will be spared the most flagrant of the falsehoods and the most violent of the propaganda pieces which appeared in the disreputable Hearst press and also the vulgarities of the tabloid *News* whose editorial policy was aimed by its founder at the low intelligence stratum. The three dailies issued in New York by the publishers (Hearst and Patterson) have in the past two decades been consistent propagandists for Vatican policies.

There are, however, some confusing matters. Why had Mindszenty, who had not been drugged or tortured, and who had once plainly declared he was seeking martyrdom, suddenly surrendered and wept? He had indeed acted a reverse Saul of Tarsus; on the road to jail, and not Damascus, he had seen a light, he had surrendered and confessed and wept and offered to repay the money losses due to his black market speculations and to cooperate in the policies of the new regime. What was the explanation?

It so happens that of the three American news agency men in Budapest one, the Hearst man, is one of the oldest friends of the present writer, and my assistant in the Berlin office of the *Chicago Tribune* in the 1920's. Eugen Szatmari has always been one of the most intelligent journalists in Europe. And this is his reply to a letter of inquiry:

All reports about "preparing" the Cardinal through drugs, hypnosis, torture, etc. are pure nonsense. It is also nonsense to say that the Cardinal was tired, or that he looked awful, as some American papers wrote.

I know the Cardinal very well, I spoke to him more than once at Esztergom, and I can say he spoke with the same voice in the court as at the time he was free, and he looked no more tired than anyone after 40 days imprisonment.

He was not imprisoned in a cell, but in a room on the first floor of the State Defense Office headquarters; he had a bed, a writing desk, paper and pencil; he was allowed to read and write, to keep his gold watch and his bishop's ring, and when he wanted some wine he asked General Peter Gabor, the commander of the State Defense. He said he wanted to celebrate a mass and needed some mass wine, and he got it. He wanted cigars, and got them. This was the "torture" of the Cardinal.

It is also nonsense to say that foreign correspondents could not move freely and that telephone and telegraph were censored. All this is nonsense. And it is not necessary to search for the enigmatic reason behind the change of attitude of the Cardinal before and during the trial. The reason is simple: he is a man without any great personality, a real village clergyman whom the events of history brought to a position which he had never expected to reach. When he reached it, he became ambitious and so he was just the right man for the Hungarian reactionaries. Being without healthy judgment, he accepted willingly their adoration and became a tool of these elements. He believed absolutely that no one would dare touch him. When he was arrested he was disillusioned. He sat in prison and no one helped him; neither the Pope nor the United States of America.

What remained? A man, worried for his life. That was all. It is nothing enigmatic, but, very logical.

Mass hysteria, press created, had its effect on mass organizations. Not only the Holy Name Society and the Knights of Columbus and the Catholic War Veterans, but American Legion posts, Boy Scouts, Jewish War Veterans, the New York City Council, other cities and the legislatures of many states, began to march, to protest, to pass resolutions, to call on members of Congress, to write letters to the papers, to kneel in prayers (arranged by photographers) in the streets. Not only the headline writers and the editorial writers, but the cartoonists (including Talburt, Goldberg) who used the subject, most of the columnists, most of the radio speakers and even the comedians took up the war for the Cardinal. The philosopher Bob Hope (NBC, February 8) praised America as "a country where the kind of thing that happened to Cardinal Mindszenty could only happen over Uncle Sam's dead body." Mr. Hope had never in his life made a gesture in any case involving civil liberties at home, or fascism abroad, such as the Spanish War. Congress was overwhelmed with letters. Paul Hoffman tied up the fate of Mindszenty with his Marshall Plan (WNEW, February 8). Mayor O'Dwyer of New York who once told the writer he submitted all his speeches to Father Edward Lodge Curran of

Brooklyn (known as Father Coughlin's Eastern mouthpiece) called the Budapest trial a "lynching." New York Supreme Court Justice Steinbrink telegraphed Cardinal Spellman that "Jews' . . . sympathy goes to Cardinal Mindszenty."

On February 9th the House of Representatives unanimously adopted a resolution directing the State Department to protest to the Hungarian Government because of its treatment of Cardinal Mindszenty, either through the United Nations, or "by other appropriate means." The new Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who is supposed to be both a lawyer and a diplomat, let the press know that the verdict was "wanton persecution." The State Department was pleased to announce that of 18,000 letters received all opposed the Hungarian action except just 11. It did not state whether or not the names of the 11 writers were turned over to the F.B.I. On February 10th President Truman joined the national hysteria by calling the trial "infamous," although he had not read the record and although he was once a "judge." Hearst's *Mirror* rightly labeled the matter a "Crusade," and brought in mention of God, Mankind, and Satan in its editorial.

The Pope held a secret consistory on February 14th. His allocution was diplomatic and mild-mannered compared to the howling in Congress, the sensation-mongering in the press, and the irresponsible statements by Cardinal Spellman and lesser stars in the American hierarchy.

But there were certain things which the Pope said which were not true. His statement that "the full light of publicity did not shine over the trial of this prelate" is not true, inasmuch as a score of foreign journalists were there, including three American press service men, who sent out thousands of words, in fact the full story of the trial. The Pope's remarks are an undeserved affront to the American foreign press service men. If the Pope had said that the report had been sent in full from Budapest but its candlelight was hidden by bushels of pro-Vatican propaganda he would have made a more factual statement.

"The facts have not been reliably made known or reported

clearly and completely," continued the Pope, repeating the usual untrue statement.

However, the Pope did not repeat the *Osservatore Romano's* fake story of drugging and torture, a story it had itself partly repudiated later on (as only Don Hollenbeck's CBS Views the Press had noted); he did speak of "the physical condition of the Cardinal, which is indeed inexplicable except as a result of a secret influence which may or may not be publicly revealed, to prove this, there is the fact which suddenly made of a man, until then exceptionally energetic by nature and by way of life, a feeble thing and of vacillating mind. . ."

The Papal action marked the climax of the affair.

The cold war against the Eastern world turned that same day into an attack on the Russian penal system; in fact, the right-hand column of the *Times*, reporting the Pope "excoriating" Hungary, was given over to "SLAVERY CHARGED TO SOVIET BY U.S.; U.N. INQUIRY ASKED."

In April the Mindszenty case reached the United Nations.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE AMERICAN PRESS VS. THE EAST

The Mindszenty case is unique in the history of recent American journalism only in this respect: that the press succeeded by the methods illustrated in the preceding chapter in destroying the truth which its own correspondents, eyewitnesses at the scene, had tried to publish; and inundating what little of it did get through with a biblical flood of propaganda and falsehood.

The purpose of this shameful exhibition was clear to everyone although never admitted by anyone in the profession; it was to wage the cold war against the East, using the handy weapon of religious emotions.

This is why there was almost no mention whatever of the political issues involved. The American State Department, Ambassador Selden Chapin, Secretary of State Dean Acheson and President Truman, the politicians engaged in the Clausewitzian ideological war, made headline statements which were not objective or even wholly true, and were supported at least 99.44 per cent by the American press in this campaign. But it was all part of the conflict between West and East despite failure of the press to say so.

Some time later, as is frequently the case, the truth did come out, and as is always the case, it did not catch up with

the thousands of world-encircling falsehoods. The chances are that not one reader of this book in one hundred has heard of these few small thin voices of truth, but here they are for the record:

The most significant item to be noted was the discussion at the *Editor & Publisher* Panel on the Press, (but not a "grand jury to pass on the performance and morals of any other newspapers in the country"), which met on March 18, 1949. Mr. Gideon Seymour, executive editor of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* (incidentally a leading Protestant laymen; and this may have been a cause for his action) told the panel:

Another case exactly in point there is my feeling that the newspapers went overboard on this Mindszenty case, that there was great fault in their not properly developing the Hungarian background, the long-standing struggle between the Church and State for supremacy there, in the effort to break up the large landholdings there. But there you get into the relativity of truth and error again. . . . Our newspapers and a lot of newspapers went back after that Mindszenty coverage and tried to redress that balance somewhat.

If any other papers with good circulations outside the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* corrected the scores of Mindszenty fakes (the drugging, torture, persecution of Catholicism and other stories) the action passed unnoticed with the exception noted below.

Unfortunately the panel, like its predecessor in journalistic criticism, the Commission frequently referred to in this volume, did not take up some of the most flagrant instances of dirty journalism. For example, there was a most vicious and libelous attack on Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, a fellow columnist, by Westbrook Pegler, following the column in which Mrs. Roosevelt had had the courage to name as the real issues in the Hungarian situation the separation of Church and State, land reform, and laicization of the public schools. Mr. Pegler, who began his career as a columnist by favoring lynching (December 13, 1933 syndicated column), now

turned to character assassination, including not only Mrs. Roosevelt but her father, two uncles, and her schoolteacher. The statements are too vile for reproduction here.

Having set the background, Pegler countered the facts Mrs. Roosevelt printed by quoting from the *Brooklyn Tablet*, which for years had printed Coughlin's fascist and pro-Nazi pieces and was one of the most anti-Semitic and clerico-fascist publications in the country.

At this time Congressman Arthur G. Klein of New York presented a resolution in the House of Representatives establishing "The Westbrook Pegler Annual Award of Journalistic Infamy" and providing for the first medal to be given to the columnist named. This news item also was generally suppressed (*Congressional Record*, March 4, 1949). The editors and publishers, who admit that Pegler is hoodlum-minded, do not however bring him up for discussion at their "what-is-wrong-with-the-press" conferences, inasmuch as they make money out of Pegler, since he is widely read by like-minded millions.

As for Pegler, he was always illiterate, but at one time, when he was in rebellion against his own religious upbringing, he attacked the Vatican's pet fascist, the dictator of Spain, writing that "I would rather see him in hell than in church." (This column was suppressed by the main Pegler paper of the time, the *World-Telegram*, out of fear of reprisal from the Coughlinites, who were rampantly supporting the murderous Caudillo). But times change and newspaper writers change, and like many a renegade Pegler has made his bid for a place in heaven by the vilest of all attacks on the few who tried to tell the truth about the primate of Hungary.

February: CBS Views the Press, broadcast No. 90, February 19th, 1949, to New York City listeners only—there seems to be no national demand for this weekly feature—had this to say:

Let us examine that drugging story for instance, which gained so much circulation in the press that it will

probably take a solid place in the popular history of the Mindszenty case.

After considerable research, the origin of this story has been traced to a London Catholic publication, *The Tablet*, which in a pre-trial story said that drugs would undoubtedly be used on Cardinal Mindszenty to get from him a bogus confession. *The Tablet's* story was then picked up and quoted by *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, and from then on this angle became prominent in stories appearing here: from the prediction that the Cardinal would be drugged emerged the general conclusion that he had been drugged, and prominent persons in this country in public statements stated as a proved fact that the drugging had been done. [Note: Cardinal Spellman and the chief speaker for the Catholic Hour, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen]. Photographs were used to point this up; readers were asked to compare a picture of the Cardinal made on his visit to this country in 1947, with one of him made in the courtroom during the trial. The courtroom picture had been airmailed to Prague, telephoned to London, then sent to New York by radio. That sort of transmission is notoriously unkind to photographic quality, while those made of the Primate in 1947 were made under ideal conditions. . . . There is an ironic footnote to the drugging story: although it originated in London, the British press didn't take it very seriously, and the ultra-cautious reliable *Manchester Guardian* referred to it is a legend. . . .

Cardinal Mindszenty several times affirmed a semi-confession . . . correspondents in the courtroom noted that these affirmations were made in a firm, clear voice. . . . *Osservatore Romano* had referred to the weak, hesitant, inattentive voice of the Cardinal to support the theory that he was not to be held responsible . . . presumably because he had been drugged.

But as Cardinal Mindszenty continued to make his courtroom statements, *Osservatore Romano* took an abrupt change of direction, which was pretty largely passed over by the American press—it was analogous to the classic story of a retraction never catching up to an original error. On February 7, *Osservatore Romano* decided that Cardinal Mindszenty was in full possession of his faculties, that he had conducted his defense wisely and with considerable acumen. To quote the paper, "he chose the way of justice and honor; he admitted what was true, and denied what was false. . . ." Now here was a semi-official statement of the Vatican's: a complete reversal of the previous position that Cardinal Mindszenty's confession was bogus; it

marked what seemed to be a major change of policy in the battle of ideologies, and it would seem to be a matter of considerable importance in the reporting of the Mindszenty case; *Osservatore Romano* had picked up the drugging story, and in New York Cardinal Spellman . . . had charged publicly that Cardinal Mindszenty had been drugged. . . The fact that *Osservatore Romano* abandoned this line twenty-four hours later would seem to have been of major news importance, but instead of being a headline story it was played down—it appeared in only half the papers here, very briefly, and in some cases with misleading implications.

April: On the 9th of April the same CBS feature, this time credited to Don Hollenbeck, discussed the *Editor & Publisher* panel, quoted Editor Seymour for a paragraph.

On April 26th there was an event like a stroke of lightning—devastating (of falsehood and propaganda) as an atom bomb—but, paradoxically, hidden from most of the world in a few paragraphs in the *Times's* report of the annual convention of the Associated Press:

Alan Gould, assistant general manager of the AP, said that. . . the burden of the AP coverage fell on Endre Marton, a Hungarian.

Mr. Gould said Mr. Marton, despite threats of reprisals, had proved himself a “competent, able reporter, who was in a position to do a first-class reporting job and did it without censorship or physical interruption.”

William Steven, *Minneapolis Tribune*, praised the Hungarian correspondent and quoted Walter Lister of the *Philadelphia Bulletin* confirming the view “that Mr. Marton had done a ‘good job’ of reporting.”

If Mr. Marton did an honest job—and apparently he did—then the American press did a dishonest job, inasmuch as Mr. Marton did not report all the headlined stories of drugging and terrorism and torture and a “war on religion” which just about drowned out the facts.

Protective Coloration

No generalizations can be drawn from the fact that the three representatives of the American news services in Buda-

pest did an honest job in defiance of the 1,750 daily papers they serve in the United States.

Whatever conclusions can be made regarding the integrity and veracity of the foreign correspondent apply equally to all in this profession.

One of the most important social and psychological facts in American journalism about which little has ever been said is this: the writers of news, editorials, and whatnot, drift with certain currents—the current of the times, the current in their own minds, their thoughts and their needs. Generally speaking the drift is toward the right, or reaction. The majority of newspapers are rightist, or reactionary, and so there is usually little conflict. As a general rule the newspaper worker takes on the coloration of the paper he works for—this is historically noticeable. It may be caused by the fear of brimstone or the love of money, the desire for political safety or the need for social security, but it is one of the most potent forces in the profession. Oswald Garrison Villard (in *La Follette's Progressive*, December 2, 1946) summed it up best:

Newspaper employees take the color of their employers and write and make up their newspapers as they think the boss's social, political and financial standing would seem to dictate. When I sold the *New York Evening Post* in 1918 to Thomas W. Lamont, the bulk of the staff remained in the new owner's employ, but the change in the attitude of the paper was immediate, and I have never believed that Mr. Lamont gave any orders to the staff enforcing this change.

Certainly the editorial writers, cartoonists, columnists and others engaged in making public opinion saw at once that the House of Morgan line had to be followed, and it was not necessary for Lamont to have a conference on the matter—the change was overnight. As a general rule, however, journalists, including foreign correspondents, drift from paper to paper, and as they grow older and social security, which would be nothing but a joke for a young reporter, begins to

affect the mind, perhaps unconsciously, it is always to the right, or the reactionary side, that they steer their course.

There was a time when "the boss's social, political and financial standing," which dictated the policy at home, had little or no effect abroad. Due to ignorance, or isolationism (as it surely was in the case of Colonel McCormick and his foreign service), or to a feeling of safety, since social, political and financial pressures would not descend upon him, this publisher gave his foreign correspondents the real liberty which is the utopian dream of at least all young people in the profession. Following the First World War many papers organized their own news services. In each one, regardless of ownership, there were liberals, socialists, radicals and communists—or at least pro-communists—writing exactly what they thought and felt without fear of being fired or even getting into trouble. Many of today's leading reactionaries, Soviet-baiters, and propagandists against the new Eastern nations were on the other side in those free days: William Henry Chamberlin, now of the *Wall Street Journal*, was Moscow correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, lecturing to all and sundry at the Savoy Hotel in favor of communism; as did Louis Fischer at one time, and Eugene Lyons of the UP at another. Dorothy Thompson in Vienna and Berlin, frequently in the company of Dr. Lily Keith of the Soviet press bureau, argued for the Soviets at excellent dinner parties which notables attended. H.R. Knickerbocker was known as a liberal in those days.

But times have changed. The American people may not realize that what happens in Europe affects them every day, even to the question of life or death, but the editor and publisher does; and as a result the present generation of foreign correspondents must follow the line in exactly the same manner the Washington correspondent, the daily cartoonist, the editorial writer, and the columnist does. There are of course exceptions, there is a Homer Bigart who in Greece was not afraid to show up fascism at a time the State Department, and the editorial department of his paper, embraced that

nation (via the Truman Doctrine) as the first potential military base for World War III. The *New York Times* had a relative of one of the owners, Cyrus Sulzberger, go on the foreign assignment, and for a year or two his reporting was magnificent. No one supposes that Arthur Hays Sulzberger, one of the nation's reactionaries who says openly he is a liberal, has even questioned or criticized Cyrus, or given him orders, but it has somehow come about that as the years go by young Sulzberger falls more and more into step with his boss. And so it goes—everyday and everywhere.

Inside Gunther's Europe

One of the few notable foreign correspondents who has not changed is John Gunther: he was never a radical, never a reactionary, but always a good middle-road liberal, and he remains so today, despite a record of four-time Book-of-the-Month Club distribution.

Gunther is one of the very few people not following the line of reaction who reaches millions of readers; he was syndicated by the *Herald Tribune*, he appeared in the many-million-circulation fortnightly *Look*, and his books on Europe are read by millions of Americans.

It is a special satisfaction to find an old friend and colleague doing a good job; and it was especially interesting to find that in time of cold warfare, when Western writers are expected to propagandize and slant the news—as *Time*, for example, always does—Gunther remains, along with Durranty and a very few others, consistently objective and liberal. This writer did not realize how unusual such a position is until he read a book review written by one of the inhabitants of the Luce journalistic stable (*Time*, June 20, 1949) in which the statement is made that Gunther “says little of importance . . . that newspapers and magazine readers are not likely to know”; and betrays his Luce soul by the remark that the book contains “few ideas not readily found in the U.S. left-of-center press.” The book is inter-

esting, even fascinating, for one who covered the same ground with Gunther at the same time; it contains news and ideas Luce did not and will not print; and it fills in many respects the vacuum on Europe created by the daily press, and it is not left-of-center.

"Journalism," Gunther wrote in a newspaper article (February 3, 1949), "is not, we all know, an exact science. I can attempt to report scrupulously what I saw but there was plenty that I didn't see. And even restricting myself to the barest kind of factual report, almost every sentence needs qualification or amendment." With this excellent introduction, Mr. Gunther's next statement is: "For instance, it is incontestable that Yugoslavia is a police state, and equally incontestable that it is afflicted by the most savage poverty. . . . Hardship, disgruntlement, hatred, hope and faith are intermingled." (Ironically enough, the *New Times* of Moscow, June 22, 1949, page 3, states: "Present day Yugoslavia is a typical police state.")

This statement is offered as "incontestable," factual, and without qualification or amendment. But other journalists argue just as positively that Yugoslavia is not a police state, and that there is no hatred there, mingling with hope and faith. Mr. Gunther's statement here is on a par with that of a foreign journalist who might visit Alabama or Mississippi and see only the Negro people and report that these two are police states. For the Negroes they are. For the fascists, reactionaries, opponents of the regime, dispossessed landlords and dispossessed manufacturers it can be said that Yugoslavia is a police state. For the industrial workers and the peasants who have been given land, it is not a police state; they hail it as the dawn of democracy.

As for "the most savage poverty" in Yugoslavia, this too must be questioned and explained, if not denied. There is poverty. The upper and middle classes certainly are worse off than before the war. But Yugoslavia is more than 80 per cent agricultural, and the entire nation's peasantry is as well off as it was before the war—this means it has made tre-

mendous progress in a few years because the Nazis stole and destroyed most of their flocks;—or it is better off, because the new regime has given land to the landless.

In concluding the same article Mr. Gunther states that “the Russians and their satellites use the lie—not merely the distortions of propaganda but the lie direct—as a direct instrument of policy.”

Mr. Gunther and the present writer were both in Prague the day of the funeral of the co-founder of the Republic, Eduard Benes. Gunther wrote: “It was the funeral of the hopes and dreams of the majority of the Czech people. . . . It was not just the body of the former President that was being buried that day but freedom.”

But Alexander Werth, of the *Manchester Guardian*, wrote in *The Nation* (February 19th) that “about half the people of Czechoslovakia fully supported the February revolution; today the greater part of the other half are more or less adapting themselves to the new conditions.” Mr. Werth refers also to “one distinguished traveler after a 6-hour visit a few months ago” writing that “to see Prague breaks your heart.” Mr. Werth’s heart was not broken. On the contrary, he reported that “the truth of the matter is—and the sooner the West faces it the better—that the new regime has impressed people, has stirred the imagination of the young and even some of the middle-aged.”

Both Gunther and Werth are consistent liberals. Gunther, for those who know, gives away the secret of his viewpoint in his next paragraph (February 9th issue): “With Gaston Coblentz of the *New York Herald Tribune* [he writes] and through the courtesy of Ambassador Steinhardt (just about the ablest American diplomat we met in Europe) who lent us a car, we drove up and down the streets (on the day of Benes’s funeral). Czechoslovakia is certainly a police state so far as politics in the large are concerned.”

Mr. Gunther’s two main sources of information (against) Czechoslovakia are: his colleague Coblentz, for whose paper

Gunther was writing, and the ambassador, at whose house he was a guest. Both hate the new Czechoslovakia.

Gunther's heart was broken in Prague because Coblenz's heart was broken or because Steinhardt's heart was broken, not because he had gone out to the farms and the factories and the marvelous spas and hotels and resorts once the exclusive privilege of the rich (and gorged) of all the world and found them occupied by common working people enjoying their holidays. Mr. Gunther's main source of information prejudiced him the moment he arrived in Czechoslovakia, and it did not matter if he stayed there three days or three years, the result would have been the same.

Mr. Gunther accepted from his sources as facts a certain viewpoint (if not total error) and wrote that "communism . . . was put over on the Czechs by the bluntest and crudest form of coup d'etat. There was no popular rising." That statement varies from those made by professional Czech-baiters, namely, that it was the mass demonstrations, the appearance of the Action Committees and hundreds of thousands of persons (as the newsreels and photographs show) in the main square of the capital that forced Benes to name the Communist leader, Gottwald, to form a new cabinet. The Czechs in this case are damned if they do and damned if they don't; they are attacked by some writers for yielding to the clamor in the streets and by others for not having a popular rising.

Gunther can also contradict himself, and on opposite pages. In his book he writes on page 31: "Incredible as the fact may seem, the satellite leaders, in a perverted, self-deluded, almost-crazy way, do genuinely consider that they *are* 'democratic.' " And on page 32: "To a good communist in eastern Europe 'democracy' means a system under which the state guarantees the people economic 'freedom' rather than political . . . the Soviets think that our criterion of democracy is just as distorted and disingenuous as we think theirs." It is therefore not incredible, perverted, or "almost-crazy," it is a difference of definition, of semantics, and whereas the

West cannot agree to the Eastern views, the East cannot be called perverted or mad for refusing to accept the West. As Mrs. Roosevelt once wrote, the two speak a different language. Each thinks his is the better.

On page 56, believe it or not, Gunther tells how he tried to argue a Yugoslav out of the latter's belief his country was a democracy. On page 125 Gunther recommends as "comprehensive" the character assassinations which were passed on as biographies of Ana Pauker in *Life* and *Time* in 1948.

There are other minor items: Mr. Gunther says the Prague shops "are as naked as if stripped by buzzards," but that is not so. Some types of shops are stripped, some are full. It is nearly true, as Mr. Gunther says, that the food shops are bare, but to write that there is no porcelain for sale is simply to misstate the facts. And to say that "prices are fantastically, inordinately high" requires a lot of explanation. Prices are high for foreigners who buy their crowns at 50 to the dollar at the bank; they are not high for citizens who get ration books for what they need, nor are luxuries high for Americans who buy their crowns outside the country or on the Prague black market for 300 to 500 to the dollar—they are in fact too cheap. Mr. Gunther mentions "an American friend" who took him to dinner and paid \$60 for three. The \$60 check is right if Mr. Coblentz who paid the bill exchanged his money at 50; the dinner was for four, and it was the best meal this writer had in all of Europe, Paris not excepted. Missing from the Gunther story, however, is the fact that "D-Deck" is one of the few if not the only black market restaurant still open for the benefit of the members of the American, British, French and other embassies and some native smugglers and illegal operators who have not yet been caught and jailed.

It might take a journalist from heaven, or at least from Mars, to write the true story—"inside" or outside Europe. The best one could do today is to work with an open (and critical) mind. It is not enough to rely upon certain sources to bring you up to date if these sources are so patently preju-

diced. The complaints of various governments against the correspondence of Gaston Coblenz should have been enough to caution Mr. Gunther; and to rely upon an ambassador and his staff was never considered correct in the old days. Maybe such sources are all right—if one joins in the cold war against the Eastern nations instead of reporting objectively.

But Gunther has not done a cold war job either in his newspaper, magazine, or book reporting. Outside of the unfortunate news and views supplied him by certain hate-the-East correspondents, and the one-sided official views of embassies, his writings deserve praise and attention. The foregoing criticisms, severe as they may be, are those of a friend and admirer.

Journalists vs. The East

Every foreign correspondent faces this dilemma: if he writes news which conflicts with the prejudices of his publication, i.e., news which does not prove the Eastern nations are police states, slave states, the people poverty-stricken, unhappy, the majority opposed to the government, plotting and planning the return of the old days, etc., then he too will be called a "red" by many fellow-journalists, the Un-American Committee, the rival newspapers or magazines, the columnists and eventually his own boss. In self-defense the majority of foreign correspondents in the Eastern nations, at least those who do not engage in falsehood, devote themselves entirely to news harmful to the regime. A setback, a disaster, a failure of one-half of one per cent in the 5-year plan, an unfortunate shooting on the border, anything at all which will indicate to the world that they are not on the side of the country in which they are stationed, is sent out as news.

The dog-fight on Champa street being worth more news space than a typhoon killing thousands in China has been changed to nothing but the equivalents of dog-fights in the

Eastern countries, and no news at all about the completion of 2-year-plans, 5-year-plans, vast nationalizations, vast bridge-buildings, the economy of devastated nations reaching the pre-war level in three years—one of the miracles of modern times—and all the progress in education, the stamping out of illiteracy, the raising of the cultural level of millions of people. Truthful reporting of progress would get the sender rebaited.

The lowest blow struck in this campaign was that of James A. Linen, the publisher of *Time*, who on March 28, 1949, complimenting his Balkan correspondent, Robert Low, and “discussing the growing difficulty of reporting the news behind the Balkans’ Iron Curtain,” reported Mr. Low’s withdrawal, and concluded that “the Curtain is securely fastened now—except for communist and fellow-traveling foreign journalists.” This was the most all-inclusive attack on a press corps in modern times.

Apparently there were protests. On April 18th Mr. Linen apologized—in a way. He wrote that his statement “was unjust to the small hard-working group of U.S., British and other non-communist foreign correspondents still doing their jobs in the Balkans’ communist countries. . .” Mr. Linen then names “the handful of British and American foreign correspondents remaining in the Balkans, all of whom deserve full credit for doing their jobs under the worst possible journalistic conditions,” “Meyer S. Handler of the *New York Times*, the Associated Press’ Alexander Singleton, the *New York Herald Tribune*’s Gaston Coblentz, all in Belgrade; the *London Times*’ Michael Burn in Budapest; United Press’ Richard S. Clark, in Prague.”

Mr. Handler is doing the kind of job in Belgrade which Walter Duranty did for a long time in Moscow; a disinterested, objective straight reporting job. Mr. Duranty’s work, however, did not please the *Times*’s Mr. Edwin L. James, one of the most successful managing editors in the country but a conservative to the point of being reactionary. He did

not fire Duranty, but he made it impossible for Duranty to continue with the *Times*.*

Mr. Singleton reported the Danube Conference at the time one of his AP colleagues in Istanbul sent out a story which the Paris *Herald Tribune* (and no doubt the entire American press) headlined as follows:

TURKS REPORT SOVIETS MASS ON YUGOSLAV LINE

The Soviets were angry at Yugoslavia—it was at the time of the Cominform-Tito rift—but everyone immediately denied this story, and an investigation of the border proved that it was a falsehood.

Singleton, the present writer is happy to report, is one of the few colleagues who takes the idea of freedom of the press seriously, and he was willing to argue, evening after evening, on the virtues of the Associated Press.

But how explain away this falsehood?

This was the Singleton point of view: the story has been proved a fake. Very well, it is a fake. But no blame attaches to the AP for the following three reasons:

1. The text, reporting “heavy Russian military forces . . . concentrated on the Yugoslav-Rumanian frontier,” was credited to “two Istanbul newspapers.”

2. The AP, unlike the Turkish papers, did later on investigate the report, and did send out a denial.

3. It is not the AP’s fault if the American, British, French and other Western nations’ newspapers played up the fake news sensationally, and did not play up the denial, or suppressed it.

The main point argued by the present writer is that the AP should not have sent out the report without investigation. The Singleton reply was that at least one of the two Turkish papers was “reliable,” and that if reports from news-

* Liberals have a hard time on the *Times*. The story of how James intimidated Herbert L. Matthews in Madrid during the fascist uprising is told on page 58 of *The Facts Are . . .*; the story of how James and the *Times* eased Duranty out, on pages 92 and 93.

papers were not sent out by the AP, other news services would have a scoop by doing so.

Mr. Coblentz, among those *Time* recommends, is without doubt one of the greatest East-baiters in the profession, and like others he has written favorably of Yugoslavia following the rift with the Cominform.

Mr. Burn of *The Times* (London) and the majority of British journalists, even including the correspondents of the Hearstian type of yellow journals, the *Express* and the *Mail*, do a fairer job of European reporting, regardless of their viewpoints. There are no real "baiters" among them, and none who takes advantage of distance to really falsify the news.

Mr. Clark of the UP is unknown to the present writer. The files show that Clark was highly praised by *Guildpaper*, official organ of the New York Newspaper Guild, in July 1946, when it nominated Albion Ross of the *New York Times* for its department labeled "Doghouse." Ross is one of several accused by Mayor La Guardia of reporting the diversion of UNRRA goods to Tito, a report the head of the organization said was untrue. *Guildpaper* then quotes Clark saying, "the complete tone of the (Albion Ross) report was unfounded and grossly distorted," and while crediting the *Times* with printing this criticism of its own correspondent, points out that this does not undo the editorial it had based on his work.

Quite the reverse was true on February 29, 1948, when the *Times* in an editorial, "Pattern of Conquest," claimed there was a "deadly parrallel" between the Nazi conquest of Czechoslovakia and Premier Gottwald "nationalizing it and organizing an armed 'Workers Militia.'" In the news columns Ross reported that when Benes and Masaryk named Gottwald they reflected "the real mind of the majority of the nation." Mr. Ross was there. But a year later almost to a day Coblentz was writing from Prague (uncensored; untouched by the police) that "serious observers are convinced that 70 per cent or more of the population of 12,000,000 is

hostile to the regime." Well, Ross has 50 per cent for it the day it started, and Werth has "half the people" supporting the February 1948 revolution and "today," February 1949, "the greater part of the other half" adapting themselves more or less. The three cannot all be right. The question is who are Mr. Coblentz's "serious observers"; and they are obviously the embassy crowd and the old upper classes who have lost a lot and will mourn their worldly losses to their dying days. Meanwhile, however, they give their complaints to Mr. Coblentz, who feeds them to the public via the *Herald Tribune*, and to millions secondhand via John Gunther's magazine, newspaper, and book writings.

This is one of the main facts about the Eastern nations: you can get the story you want. If you listen to the people who hate and who grumble you have one kind of a story—and, incidentally it will inherently destroy your allegation of a police state, of a people terrorized, because it is a fact that the moment you speak English, or order in a restaurant, people will come to you with their tale of woe; there is certainly no such freedom to complain in a real police state. The other story, the one hardly ever written by the regular foreign correspondents, or minimized if mentioned, is the epical story of the rebirth of peoples, of the "brave new world" which Alexander Werth reported from Czechoslovakia and which Gunther—and even conservative and reactionary journalists who have ever visited Warsaw—have reported from Poland.

As a general rule the fair-minded writer mentions the faults and troubles and oppositions. Werth, for example, in his *Nation* report of a majority sustaining the Czech regime, also writes:

"I have lived in Prague for three months now, and my heart is not broken. I admit that Czechoslovakia today has some extremely unpleasant aspects. Thousands of people—expropriated business men, lawyers, and other professional men—must now serve the state or starve, instead of being able to pursue independent careers. . . . At least 5,000 college

students are being thrown out of the universities and technical colleges—large numbers not, as is officially stated, because they are ‘slackers’ and ‘chronics’ but because of their ‘doubtful’ political past or their ‘unsuitable’ mentality,” and more in this vein. Of course unpleasant things happen. There was once a revolution in America, and when George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine won, and their program was put through, a proportionate and parallel number of British Tories or others who thought the new regime too radical or too reactionary grumbled and complained and even hated—and perhaps dreamed of a British journalist who might visit them so that they could get their bitterness printed as “news” in the old home papers.

PART THREE

What is Happening in Europe

CHAPTER TWELVE

LABOR, ALLIES AND WORLD WAR III

There are many things the people do not know because they have been told falsehoods, or half-truths, or propaganda in place of facts; there are many things the people do not know because they have not been told about them at all; and there are many things the people do not know because all the means of communication have submerged the few great facts that have been written or spoken under hundreds or a thousand times as many words which have resulted in confusion rather than enlightenment.

You have been told not once but ten thousand times that the Western world and its civilization is being threatened by the Eastern world, that in the European nations aided by the Marshall Plan the United States has built up a block of allies for World War III (in which the West will be attacked by the aggressor East), that the majority in these allied nations (which means the working people, whose spokesmen are the labor union heads) will support such a war, and that the aggressor will be beaten decisively. There may have been an occasional item or a word in a news broadcast doubting or denying some of these statements, but its effectiveness would be very small indeed.

There are few exceptions to the reports glorifying the

Marshall Plan, and these few have been buried or suppressed, but they are official, documented, authentic and if they had been reported honestly would have destroyed a year of universal propaganda. (The facts are given in a chapter which follows.)

The free enterprise system is opposed to planned economy, and since the gentlemen of free enterprise are also the paymasters of press and radio, it is no surprise to find a hundred reports of the failure of British socialization to one telling of its success, and ten thousand reports of the failure of planned economies in Eastern Europe to one telling the truth.

The people do not know because the relationship of propaganda to fact has been 100 to 1 or 1000 to 1. The apologist for press or radio can always document his claim that a certain item was given to the public, but he cannot deny that 99 or 999 contrary items, which could not pass a test by an institute for propaganda analysis, have also been fed the public by the same opinion-making machine.

The use of repetition in propaganda is now accepted as a commonplace; it was known long before Hitler wrote in its favor in *Mein Kampf* (along with his approval of the Big Lie technique). The tragedy of our time is the failure of the repetition of important truths.

One suffers a great shock when one arrives in Europe and finds that things are not as reported.

The Western nations as well as the Eastern nations have gone to the Left, or as far Left as powerful political and economic interests will permit them. This is a fact which is not welcome news to the press of any land which is reactionary, but it is nevertheless one of the most important developments in the history of the world.

By Left I do not mean Communist—or extreme Left. I do mean that most of Europe, and a large part of Asia, have done away with fascism, monarchy, reaction, and in many instances conservative regimes and have adopted socialist, social-democratic, liberal, left-socialist, coalitions including

communists, and also communist regimes. (The nearest to the Moscow type of Communist regime is the Yugoslav, and ironically this is the country singled out by the Cominform for criticism.)

The glorious victory of the Right in Italy, heralded in the American press, was nothing of the sort, and no one in Italy tried to fool anyone in Italy or elsewhere about what happened. All that can be said is that the movement further toward the Left has been compromised because of Marshall Plan dollars, and is held in abeyance while a regime—called reactionary by its opponents, far Left by the remaining fascists, and actually pretty conservative—tries to make the vast reforms which alone will keep the dispossessed people of the land, the impoverished workmen, and the jobless, from trying a revolution.

It was the hope more than the view of Guglielmo Emanuel, editor of *Corriera della Sera*—the *Manchester Guardian* of Italy, one of the few great honest journals in the world—that his former employee, the President of Italy, and his close friend, the present prime minister, would succeed in keeping a middle-of-the-road policy in operation, moving only slightly leftward with the times. But all the American foreign correspondents in Rome who favored the Marshall Plan and opposed the move to the Left, admitted that since De Gasperi is the manacled prisoner of the forces which own the land, the banks, and industry, and since Europeans who own never make concessions to the working people and the farmers (as American big business has learned to do to some extent), then there is little hope in Italy of more than checking the surge toward the Left which is apparent here as throughout the world.

Leftward the course of empire takes its way. In this writer's opinion this is the most fundamental fact about the world situation, and it is the fact which is unpleasant to the American press and therefore kept from the American people.

This is the great fact—*sub specie aeternitatis*, from the long point of view.

The immediate great fact, the one that affects every living human being, is whether or not there will be war, and whether or not the United States has friends and allies, and whether or not they will fight in a war between the West and the East.

How can one get the answer?

British Unions Say NO

It is absolutely true—as the present writer was to find and report—that the British Government, Mr. Ernest Bevin, and the British Labour Party officially, are pledged to the West, to the United States, and to the coming war. And this is what the American press has been reporting for years.

It is just as absolutely true that the British people say NO.

But this NO is rarely reported, never emphasized.

There are many reasons for this. It is a fact that today, as in the seventeen years in which the present writer was employed in Europe, the conventional American foreign correspondent never got in touch with the people of the country to which he was accredited. A “spokesman for the Foreign Office,” usually anonymous, is generally quoted as representing the nation, but the president or secretary of the largest organized force in it, the central labor union, who can more nearly than anyone else be called the “voice of the people” is never heard in the columns of the American newspaper.

In the nine countries which I visited recently, and in which I had done many a job of work from 1916 to 1933, and again in 1936 and 1937, I found that even the greatest of all wars, and the assumption of power by socialists, communists, labor and other Left coalition regimes, had not in any way changed the viewpoint of the American press, which (to oversimplify for the occasion) is simply this: that the people aren't news.

I say the press, and not the foreign correspondent. But

the latter, now as before, finds that it is useless to send certain cables as news; it is a waste of money, and it may indeed earn him a reprimand or a lecture on what is "newsworthy" as *Time* would put it. The foreign correspondent is all right. But he cannot change the newspapers.

I asked a leader of the British Labour Party if the American journalists came to Transport House often, and he replied, not very often; but when I asked the more radical heads of the Italian and French and Belgium and other labor unions they replied that they had never been visited or interviewed, or even asked questions or their views by telephone so far as America's representatives were concerned. They were busy people, busy frequently with journalists of all the great nations of the world, but no demands on their time had ever come from America.

This is the situation which has remained unchanged for decades, for generations: the governments, the regimes, have always been news, while the people of all countries whose most important representatives have been the labor unions, have not been news. And this also accounts for the tragic lack of information among the American people, and the frequency with which they are shocked and surprised by revolutionary happenings in many parts of the world.

It is certainly news when Bevin pledges Great Britain to stand by the United States in its relations with Russia, and it is certainly news when the Labour Party sustains its men who are now in the government. If, however, upon declaration of the Third World War the various labor unions of Britain defied the Labour Party, went on strike, and made Britain's commitments impossible of achievement, such a tremendously sensational event would be the greatest shock to the American people—because their newspapers have failed to tell them that this is exactly what many labor unions and leading socialists have declared to be the policy of the British working people. In other words, the biggest news was not news in America.

The British story is worth illustrating not only because of

its importance in relation to the preparations for the next war but also because it is typical of the failure of the American press to inform the American people.

The British pledge to America was emphasized by Foreign Secretary Bevin in his address to the London post of the American Legion (Savoy Hotel, September 10, 1947). He said in part:

My dear Americans: we won't let you down.

Britain is a great bastion in Europe. Our Western civilization cannot go unless Britain falls, and Britain will not fall.

Standards of life may go back. We may have to say to our miners and to our steel workers: "We can't give you all we hoped for. We can't give you the houses we want you to live in. We can't give you the amenities we desire to give you."

But we won't fail.

This specific commitment by Great Britain to remain the "great bastion" of the West in the struggle with the East was not generally known to the British political and labor leaders, although no one questioned the general viewpoint. This was but another instance of the press (this time the British press) failing to inform the people.

Armed with the foregoing clipping I set out to get the views in turn of the Government, the Labour Party, and of labor.

By a stroke of good fortune, an old friend, one with whom I had worked on a European assignment of the utmost importance, had become, thanks to the overturn of the Tory regime, one of the most important spokesmen for Great Britain. In fact, he is today of such a high standing that he spoke to me only on condition that I make no attempt to identify him other than to say that my information comes "from one of the highest government circles," and to add that when I telephoned him for an appointment he gave as his address 10 Downing Street, which is the Prime Minister's office. (This is therefore one of the rare times in which

I will not identify sources of information.) I cannot use quotation marks, but I can give this summary of my government spokesman's reply to my question of Britain's place in the present race toward war:

It is traditional British policy to fight any power which seizes the Channel ports. The present British Government is convinced that if and when the East and West go to war on the Continent, the East will advance to the Channel and thereby threaten the security of the British Isles. In such a situation, the traditional policy of going to war with the nation or coalition occupying the ports would be followed by any government, including the socialist government.

According to my informant there was no other alternative, because the men who headed the government were certain that nothing would ever change the Russian policy of expansionism. He was willing to admit that there were two means of expansion: peaceful ways through the spread of ideas and ideologies, and by armed might, but in one way or another he and the people he spoke for believed Russia would not be stopped by anything. He admitted that the peaceful way was preferred. He also did not believe war was imminent.

As an illustration of not only his views but that of a number of people in authority he quoted the statement of a general staff officer who had said:

"I am willing to wager half my fortune that there won't be a war in five years. I'm willing to wager a third of my fortune that there won't be a war in ten years. But I won't bet a shilling that there won't be a war in fifteen years."

I asked my high official source if he was aware of the Bradley statement of Britain being another Malta, i.e., a stationary carrier base for airplanes; and if he realized that in such case it might be blown to pieces in an atomic war between East and West. The reply to this was that there was no choice. Britain was pledged to the West; it preferred to go down, if it must, fighting alongside the West than fighting with the East, which it could not possibly do; nor could it remain neutral, which was just as great an impossibility.

General Bradley, as U.S. Chief of Staff, had testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that Britain and whatever part of Western Europe could be held on to in case of a war between East and West, would have to serve as "a foothold from which you can attack Russia, because we know that we are all talking about Russia."

The liberal editor of the *New Statesman & Nation*, Kingsley Martin, had told his readers (March 27, 1948) that a general (Bradley) had predicted Britain would be destroyed, but "would remain useful as an aircraft carrier for American bombers." The Tory *Observer* (April 25, 1948) explained Britain's role in the coming war "will be to act as a continental power, to defend ourselves on the Elbe. . ." The Secretary of the International Department of the British Labour Party, Denis Healey, told me that there was a commitment, that it would be kept, as Bevin had promised the Legionnaires. "I don't believe we can talk peace to Russia," he added. He mentioned the Luebeck-Trieste line as the Western frontier.

There were others who spoke the same thoughts, and felt the same way. The American correspondent would be justified on the basis of Downing Street, Mr. Bevin, and the Labour Party representative in reporting to his paper that Britain was committed as a military ally of the United States and would fight in the war of the West against the East.

But would that be the true story?

Would not the exact opposite be closer to the truth?

For the rest of my stay in London I went with the same question to men I considered spokesmen for labor and the majority, leaders who were not obliged to follow the official government line which included quoting the "traditional English policy." Nevertheless it was actually a member of Mr. Attlee's cabinet who was the most indignant of all my informants when I presented a synopsis of the foregoing pages. The Hon. John Strachey is an old friend—I was one of the delegation from the American Civil Liberties Union which called on him at Ellis Island in the mid-1930's when Labour was not the Government and people with his left views were held as undesirable by the American immigration authorities. Mr. Strachey exploded with both British and American words the mildest of which were "Nonsense" and "Nuts" when I summarized the foregoing British "commitment" to America and the West.

"There can be no commitment for Britain in any war," he then continued calmly. "No one can commit whatever Government is in power when the danger of war arises.

"When such a danger comes that government will examine the situation as was done in the instances of the two past world wars and will decide on what policy is the best for the British Empire.

"Do you mean to tell me that any responsible person in the present government told you we were already committed to the Western Bloc?

"Why, the first decision would have to be on who is the aggressor. Why do we take it for granted that Russia will be the aggressor? Suppose it is the United States which is the aggressor in the next war? We certainly will not side with the aggressor!"

Tom Driberg is not only a Labour Party member of Parliament but one of the leading columnists of the country, publishing in *Reynolds News*, the organ of 9,000,000 co-operators, and reaching 750,000 subscribers and their families. Mr. Driberg said:

"The official view may be that we are committed to a war on the side of the West against the East, but that is certainly not the view of either the people in the Labour Party nor the men and women in the labor unions nor for that matter the men and women of Great Britain.

"Bevin, of course, is very powerful, and he gets the union votes—you know the voting system, of course, by which one delegate can vote the half million men in his union. But neither Mr. Bevin nor anyone else can say that if a war comes the people of this country can be led into it by government leaders.

"The people right now are more concerned with food, and the increased costs of living, than with the prospects of a future war. They see in the Marshall Plan a relief plan; they do not see in it the beginning of a war plan.

"I would deny absolutely the views of both your Government official and the Labour Party man who confirmed him.

The people of Great Britain will not be led into a war between the East and West. The government which proposes it will fall immediately. There is no war feeling, no war hysteria here, and while it is also true that unfortunately the majority do not see the war program which is taking shape throughout Western Europe—under American direction and pressure—I am certain that it will be impossible to get Britain to accept the position of being America's carrier base in the next war."

(On the way back from the House of Commons I asked the bus driver who wore a lot of war ribbons if he would fight in the next war. "Not bloody likely," he replied. I quote this anonymous person not because of the significance of the remark but because from the day I took the boat train at Southampton for London virtually every person I talked to said the same thing.)

Spokesman for the left wing of the Labour Party was then Konni Zilliacus, a backbencher in the House of Commons and a voice which is one of the most brilliant and most powerful in the country.

"There'll be a bloody revolt first—there'll be a revolution of the working people," thundered Zilliacus when he heard talk of any British commitment to the West.

We were seated at a table on the terrace of Parliament Building overlooking the Thames. The House was in session and the interview was held in short takes between "divisions," or roll calls. Mr. Zilliacus was very angry.

But this time I wanted some facts. What did he base his views on?

"The people of Britain do not know what is going on—any more than do the majority of the people of America—and many other countries," continued Mr. Zilliacus. "But we are telling them. We are spreading the news. We know of course that the Marshall Plan is not coming to Europe to hand out billions of dollars for nothing. The leaders everywhere know that in the distance there looms a coalition in a war.

"If Churchill or any Conservative Government had been in power there would have been a terrific scandal if they had done what the Labour Government has done in keeping from the people the truth about the plans for a future war which are now being drawn up behind the curtain of the Marshall Plan. But you had your Lincoln who said you can't fool all the people, and all the people of Britain won't be fooled.

"You want proof? Will Lawther, head of the miners' union, is on record with the following statement: 'Not a ton of coal will be dug if we go to war with Russia.'

"When the party congress passed its resolution of confidence in the government at the Scarborough congress, the man who seconded it added unofficially: 'For God's sake, Bevin, keep us off the road to war.'

"The whole Congress at Scarborough was not pro-Russian—as the press reported. But it was definitely pro-peace. Unfortunately the press did not stress that.

"Those who know what is being planned oppose the war plan. The working people are for peace. When we are able to get to them with the threat of a new war I know the reaction. No matter what party is in power, there will be a revolt against it."

I asked Mr. Zilliacus about the situation in continental European nations. He did not think it possible to take many of the Western nations into a new conflict.

"It is too early to lead people into war. It is too late to lead people into reaction," replied the left-wing socialist leader.

W. Richardson, the editor of *Reynolds News*, and Gordon Schaffer, assistant editor and chief writer on industrial affairs, confirmed Zilliacus. The miners are 100 per cent behind the Labour Government but they would go out on strike rather than support a war. They were not as certain as Zilliacus there would be an uprising, but there would be no coal mined; and the engineers would stop all the works. There would be a general strike against war, that much was certain.

Over and over again I confirmed this view. The reader will note that none of the leaders quoted is a Communist. Zilliacus is a left-wing Socialist who has since been expelled from the Labour Party, but he is still a Socialist. Strachey belongs to the Labour Party majority now heading the government. Scores of other Labour Party men—for example, an old friend, Charles Duff, formerly of the permanent staff of the Foreign Office, repeated the same words: “This country will never be able to go to war with Russia.”

At the end of my investigation I concluded that the official “line,” the public statements made by Mr. Bevin, the pronouncements of the Government and the officials of the Labour Party, pledged to that Government, and of the reactionary (majority) press, were all wrong, and that the labor leaders and the cooperative editors who spoke for the millions were right.

No foreign correspondent can be asked to take the place of a public opinion poll, even a super-scientific one.

But the foreign correspondent must be asked—and this time not by popular demand but by his own editor, who is after all the villain in this piece—to give both sides, and never fail to give labor’s side. This would be something new in American journalism.

An intelligent public knows enough to discount the official viewpoint. While it was neither hypocrisy nor Machiavellianism on the part of the governmental or semi-governmental spokesmen in Britain, it was nothing more than the “official” line. It might mean much, it might mean nothing. I concluded it meant nothing. I am sure the British people will say NO to joining either side in any war between East and West.

The Italian People say NO

The British situation was complicated by the fact that the labor unions were allied with the regime. The regime’s line

therefore had more backing than it would have in countries where the old conflict has not been resolved and the political party backed by the unions is still part of the opposition.

In Italy things were sharper, clearer.

Labor is not a participant in the government; in fact, the labor unions (except for a fraction which split off from the central organization after my visit to Rome) are opposed to the policies of the regime, and inasmuch as they numbered 7,000,000 members (out of a nation of 45,000,000), they are the most powerful force in the nation and the voice of the majority.

This voice says NO to war, NO to the Western plans, No to America.

This situation, important as it is to the future of the war-and-defense plans of the West, and especially of the United States, has not been explained and certainly has never been emphasized. The reason appears clear upon first enquiry. The Anglo-American press has ever since the beginning of the Italian Republic, and the reconstitution of the labor movement, labeled the *Confederazione Generale Italiana de Lavoro* (CGIL) as "communist-dominated" and every day it has been in the news this phrase has always accompanied its name, so that—true or false—the Anglo-Saxon world has made up its mind and reacted with fear and hate.

Once a thing or a man or an institution is labeled in this way it is placed outside the pale. It is no longer necessary to apply the usual rules, conventions, ethics of Anglo-Saxon civilization. And it is no longer necessary for a foreign correspondent to investigate, to interview, or to get both sides of the question. The CGIL, although it may speak for the majority of the people of Italy, is not visited by representatives of the big Western press, it is ostracized, boycotted, hated and made the victim of a conspiracy of silence, just as most other organizations which are not communist, nor "communist-dominated" but which are so labeled.

So I was informed when I went to the office of Signor

Martini, the press section of Rome headquarters, CGIL, 19 via Boncampagni. There is no record of many foreign visitors, but few Britons and no Americans, and the majority of the former the representatives of liberal weeklies rather than the big commercial news agencies and newspapers.

The press department, at my request, arranged an interview at which representatives of most of the political parties comprising the CGIL would be present. Altogether five persons (only one of whom was a communist) sat around the table with me. They agreed in general with the two chief speakers, Dr. E. Capodoglio and Giovanni Parodi. When I told them the main purpose of my trip to Europe was to answer the question of peace or war, and gave them the official viewpoint of the British Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress, and quoted Zilliacus saying that labor would start a revolution in England if any government tried to lead the country into war, this was the CGIL's reply:

If the De Gasperi government, or any government, attempts to take Italy into a war now, or in the future so far as we can judge it, there will be no revolution of the working people.

But, rest assured, there won't be war.

There will be nothing.

The moment any government declares it is joining in the war of the West versus the East, there will be a spontaneous stoppage of work throughout the nation.

Not a wheel will turn. Not a public utility will function. Nothing will move. We just won't participate in the war.

You have seen what happened on July 14 when Togliatti was shot. It was an entirely spontaneous stoppage of work in all but the vital industries. No one gave orders. And it wasn't done because Togliatti was a communist, but because his party is one of the parties represented in the CGIL. The same would have happened if the victim were a member of one of the other parties, the crime a political crime.

In this case the CGIL later in the afternoon declared a general strike.

In the case of war it would be the same situation, a thousand times more intense and complete. Without orders from anyone, Italian labor, 7,000,000 strong, would stop work. We would be out of the war.

France the Key to War and Peace

What happens in France in the next few years will affect the lives and fortunes of all the rest of Europe and of America. France is still the most important of the three Western allies. It would not be possible for the West to wage a war against the East with only an airplane base in England (and another in fascist Spain, after Franco has been whitewashed of his bloody massacres and taken into the Atlantic Pact). France is still the key to Europe.

Will France fight?

The official government says Yes. But the most powerful body in France is not the Chamber of Deputies but the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) with 5,000,000 of the nation's 6,000,000 organized union men and women. This is the organization to which the American press, irresponsible as usual, applies the term "communist-dominated" although neither the membership nor the leadership is a Communist majority.

There are two general secretaries, Benoit Frachon for the Communists, and Alain Le Léap for the non-communists, the latter being the successor of the leading anti-communist Leon Jouhaux. The American press always quotes Frachon, rarely mentions Le Léap who speaks for half the labor movement officially, and for the majority of the CGT members.

I came to CGT headquarters to ask the co-head of French labor what the 5,000,000 men would do in case of war between the East and West, a war which of necessity would be fought largely over French territory. But before M. Le Léap would answer that question he spoke to me with great indignation about the American press, the only press in the world, he said, which almost without exception smeared and redbaited and lied about the CGT. Said M. Le Léap:

"The term 'communist-inspired' regarding the great labor union of France, the CGT, is used by your press, I understand, as a term of indictment. Actually, on this side of the Atlantic, such a term works the other way—it credits the

Communists with too much. You build up the influence of the Communist Party every time you use such phrases.

"We are 24 here in the governing body of the CGT, evenly divided; 12 are communists, 12 are not. No political party dominates the CGT. We who are not communists are glad that the Communist Party of France supports the CGT, just as we are glad that other parties also support us. But the Communist Party does not give orders to the labor unions, nor does it dominate, lead, or direct the CGT—it merely supports us, along with other parties.

"I must point out, however, that in France—as in most countries of the world, but not in America—every working man stands to the Left in politics. He may be a socialist or a communist or an independent, a Marxist or not a Marxist, but positively a Leftist. Perhaps if your American journalists learned this fact—or were willing to acknowledge the fact if they already know it—they would be more honest in reporting the labor movement in France."

My questions concerned the Marshall Plan, the Ruhr settlement, and the preparations for the Third World War. The co-secretary of the CGT replied:

"Everyone in France is agreed that the Anglo-American plan to reconstruct Germany ahead of France is part of the plan for another world war. If a French government agrees to it, it is because it is a captive of the American Marshall Plan and must do what it is told to do.

"I do not think any intelligent man or woman in Europe accepts the Marshall Plan at its face value: a do-good plan by the United States. It is not only the communists in France but everyone, including those who most ardently support the Marshall Plan, who know that in addition to charity and in addition to economic rehabilitation there is the beginning of a plan for war which will involve all Europe, in which Europe will be the battlefield when West fights East.

"We in the labor movement, the non-communists here as well as the communists, believe that the West is preparing for war, and that the Marshall Plan is part of that plan. We

believe that British labor, that all labor regardless of political party, agrees on this.

"For the working class of France I can say that it sees no reason for a war against anyone.

"The working class of France says NO to this war plan.

"We do not believe that Soviet Russia will ever make war on France or that France will ever engage in a war against Russia. I challenge you to get any other view in France from any source.

"Your Marshall Plan today is a revival of the 1917 cordon sanitaire. You sought then with guns and bayonets to stop the ideas coming out of Russia. We do not believe you will be able to do so now, even with the support of the official regimes of all the Marshall Plan nations.

"If war comes the Western forces will be destroyed. That is my belief, and it is shared by the leaders of the labor unions. Russia will occupy France at the beginning. Will you then atom bomb our seaports?

"I repeat, France will never march against an idea; it will never march against the U.S.S.R. I say France, not the communists of France, but France."

Will it be a general strike, a revolution, a mutiny? I asked.

"Neither," replied the spokesman for non-communist labor. "Violence will not be necessary. The force of public opinion—France is for tranquillity, for peace above all else—will make it impossible for any regime to take any warlike action. The will of the people of France will change governments at the first sign of a move toward participation in the Western war against the East. That will be enough. We will not participate in this next war. We say NO now, and we will put our NO into action in the future."

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE WEAPONS FOR WAGING COLD WAR

The most powerful weapons with which the West wages the cold war are the Atlantic Pact, the Marshall Plan, of which the former is the logical and collateral offspring, and the Truman Doctrine.

In recent years more words have appeared in the newspaper and magazine press of the world, and more words have been heard over the radio on these subjects than on any other. Nevertheless the Western world at least is less informed about them than even the most "backward" country of Europe.

One significant fact, the authorship of not only the great weapons of the cold war but the whole policy of the United States in world affairs, appeared in the *New York Times's* report of the voting on the Atlantic Pact on May 12, 1949. Three hundred and thirty-three members of the House of Commons had expressed Britain's desire to accept, and only six persons voted No—the lone Communist, Gallacher, and a few of the independents or Left Socialists in the Labour (Socialist) Party. At the conclusion of the important news item the *Times* carried this significant paragraph: "In lively mood, Mr. Churchill obviously took delight in the fact that the policy he had advocated at Fulton, Mo., in 1946, had

been adopted and even exceeded in the North Atlantic Pact."

In March, 1946, at Fulton, Missouri, the rejected former Prime Minister of Great Britain had made the most warlike speech of the post bellum era: he called for a holy alliance, a revival of the cordon sanitaire of 1917, of Hitler's Anti-Komintern Pakt of 1936, a new crusade of the Western World against the East. (This was the occasion in which he knowingly had adopted for his own and given worldwide publicity to Goebbels' phrase "the iron curtain.") For America this was something new: it was indeed revolutionary, it was the greatest break with the past in history because it was not merely the forerunner of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, but it was more radical than the Monroe Doctrine, it did not warn Europe away from the Atlantic shores, it meant eventually putting Washington and Jefferson in the discard and entangling the future of the United States with the future of every nation in Europe.

The man who in 1946 started the former British colony on the British path of controlling the destinies of the Continent was very consistently carrying out his great scheme of world control. He had from 1917 to 1920 been the chief instigator of the war of the Allies to destroy the new Russian Soviet state by attacking at Archangel and in Siberia.

When that failed he consistently backed every military, economic and political plan to isolate, boycott, and destroy his chief enemy. In the course of the years he joined with all the Nazis and fascists of the world in aiding this movement. He was Mussolini's greatest apologist in England, a much more significant and successful one than Sir Oswald Mosley who merely donned the black shirt and made anti-Semitic speeches in public squares.

Churchill endorsed fascism while in Rome on January 20, 1927; he admitted it and affirmed his endorsement during the war, in the House of Commons December 8, 1944.

In the early days of Naziism, Churchill wrote that "Adolf

Hitler is Fuehrer because he exemplifies and enshrines the will of Germany. . . . In five years he has restored Germany to the most powerful position in Europe."

In that last phrase the student of politics will see immediately the reason Churchill turned against Hitler, and not against Mussolini, or Salazar, or Metaxes of Greece or Franco of Spain: it has always been the tradition of British Foreign Office policy to dominate the Continent through power politics, and every challenge had been defeated by war or diplomacy. Hitler alone among the fascist-Nazi dictators blessed by Churchill menaced his Continental policy.

During the Franco uprising Churchill (on April 14 and again July 7, 1937) endorsed the fascists, and showed his sympathy for the caudillo in a statement on May 24, 1944, and once again in his memoirs as published in *Life* and the *New York Times* in 1948.

Friendship for the Japanese fascist regime for business and other reasons was expressed by Churchill on February 23, 1933, and dredged up by the London *Tribune* in the electoral campaign against the Prime Minister in 1945.

It has been no secret anywhere in Europe that outside of the fascist dictatorships themselves there has been no greater endorser of the ideology and the dictators themselves than this same Winston Churchill, who spent an entire generation in aligning the world for the war against the Soviets and came closest to success when his Fulton, Missouri, speech became the policy first of the United States, and later of the Western coalition.

And yet, not a word of this history appeared in the press of the United States. It did appear, not once, but on many an occasion when Mr. Churchill was in the news, in a large proportion of the press of his own country. Britain, and Europe, are informed about Mr. Churchill, but not the United States. No hero ever has clay feet in American journalism. Or fascist affiliations.

The seed of the Hitlerian Anti-Komintern Pakt which Churchill planted on American soil matured in almost one

year to a day. In March 1947 there was announced what became known for only a short time as the Truman Doctrine, the first timid step toward the Atlantic Pact. In the first days of the Spring of 1947 America was still comparatively free from the hysteria, the witch-hunt, the war atmosphere for which the press and radio were largely responsible. Nevertheless, it was a brave and almost unique columnist or commentator or newspaper which could go against the stream of favorable propaganda. In the *Herald Tribune* of April 6 William L. Shirer's column was headlined:

‘TRUMAN DOCTRINE’ CALLED A STEP TOWARD WAR
Aid to Greece and Turkey Seen Highly Unlikely to Induce
Russians to Quit Europe Without Conflict That
Would Destroy Civilization

“Obviously,” wrote Mr. Shirer, “our own high command has not got to that point yet—of risking war with Russia. But if the newspaper accounts about the correctness of our decision to exert American military power against Russia in Turkey and Greece have any basis whatsoever, then we have certainly taken a first step. And the American people ought to know why—and what the risk, so far as it can be calculated, is.”

The American people ought to know. . . . Returning to the same subject May 25th, Mr. Shirer added: “The molders of opinion in our press and on the air, for instance, have been almost unanimous in backing the so-called ‘Truman Doctrine’ as a means of improving our chances for peace. All of the great weight of the White House, of the State Department and of the leaders of both parties in the Senate has been thrown behind their conception. Yet the other day when Town Hall of the Air at the close of a public debate on the issue asked its listeners to express their own opinion as to whether they thought the ‘Truman Doctrine’ was leading to peace or war, 75 per cent of the 13,262 persons who took the trouble to answer said they thought the President’s new foreign policy was leading to war.”

Obviously the great American official propaganda machine had not yet gone into action or had not been able to achieve what it wanted. Drew Pearson reported (on June 16, 1947) that Secretary Marshall and his aides held secret meetings with private organizations that mold public opinion to sell the Truman Doctrine and offset Henry Wallace's blasts, as the *New York Post* reported. There was opposition in Congress too.

"If, in truth, we have found it necessary to make war upon Russia," exclaimed the conservative Senator Revercomb during the debate (*Congressional Record*, April 18, 1947, p. 3803-4), "why not tell the American people and the world that we are doing just that so they may know where we are going and prepare for it. The talk about this being a step to avert war is to ignore realities. . . . Why must the American people be fooled. . . . If we must resort to arms, why not tell them why we must go to war. . . . This subject is the gravest one which has confronted our Government in many years. Not only is it grave in respect to being a step toward war, but it is also grave in that we shall be undertaking a policy which may mean recurrent and continuous warfare for America. . . ."

Senator Glen Taylor echoed the same protest. "We have therefore embarked upon a course looking eventually to a showdown war with Russia," he told his colleagues (but few others, since the press as a rule omits what Mr. Taylor has to say) on April 22nd. At that day's session he also read the following paragraph from a document prepared by the Office of Naval Intelligence:

"Realistically, all wars have been for economic reasons. To make them politically and socially palatable, ideological issues have always been invoked."

And from the *Army & Navy Bulletin* of January 18 the Senator then quoted the statement that "Today the Army has virtual control of foreign affairs," and charged that "those responsible for the welfare of the country have given up hope . . . that we can get along with Russia peacefully."

He took note of a radio poll showing the public 11 to 2 to turn the matter of aiding Greece and Turkey over to the United Nations, adding: "This is a strange situation. Never before have I seen so many Members of Congress ignore such an overwhelming voice of the people as in this instance."

The secret of the situation—a Senate "not voting as free agents" but as the victims of pressure and hysteria—was then told by Senator Taylor. He quoted an Associated Press news item which referred to the original Truman Doctrine as presented to the joint session of Congress and said:

"Anyone who stood out against Mr. Truman's request would be in danger of appearing to favor communism."

However, this diagnosis of the situation had no result whatever. If anything, it became more intense. In both Senate and House and in the press of the nation the red label was placed on everyone—except the old reactionary isolationists of the *Chicago Tribune* persuasion—who spoke up for finding other means of peace than arming the whole world as it had never before been armed.

Marshall Succeeds Truman

Between the Churchill-Truman Doctrine and the Churchill-Atlantic Pact there was a period in which one of the greatest and most pretentious hoaxes was attempted universally, but with success only against the people of the United States. In no other country did the press fool the people by raising the bright banner of peace and good-will over the workings of the interim instrument of the cold war, the Marshall Plan.

Here again as in actual wartime, the American press fell into war psychology, permitting starspangled patriotism to prejudice its headlines and dictate the suppression or choice of facts which constitute the news. As in wartime, truth was the first casualty. The American press handled the biggest continuing news story of the year just as if it were the press of a nation controlled by a government or a regime in abso-

lute power. No one sent it daily orders, there were no sessions of editors with the spokesmen of government, and the old flag of individualistic liberty still fluttered from the mast-heads of the 1750 dailies. But all conformed.

So it came about that while the Russian press every day was attacking the Marshall Plan, printing everything it could find against it, the American press (with perhaps the usual one or two per cent exceptions) published everything it could find in favor of the Plan. There were no "two sides" to this story, none of the objectivity about which the American press so often boasts, and as a result the American people eventually approved the measure overwhelmingly.

Several volumes have already been written on the Marshall Plan—none of them telling the whole truth—and it would take at least a volume to detail and document the statements made in the foregoing paragraphs. And in doing so the writer would have to challenge public opinion, created by the press, which has pinned the red label on all criticism of the European Recovery Program and made fair comment almost impossible.

It is true, as the American press has repeated for more than a year now, that Moscow and the Communist press of all nations, including the United States, have opposed the Marshall Plan and done everything in their power to make it a failure. It is true, but only half true.

Millions of Communists in Europe are opposed to the Marshall Plan. But millions of non-communists—and even millions of anti-communists—are opposed to the Marshall Plan. Of these latter, all are agreeable to being aided by it, but there is more in the Marshall Plan than meets the eye.

According to everyone who knows anything in Europe the Marshall Plan is the first instalment payment on the Churchill Plan of uniting the Western nations for the purpose of waging war with the Eastern nations.

No one in political office in Europe, in London, Paris, Rome, Bruxelles or any other western nation believes that

the Marshall Plan was just Santa Claus giving away billions for nothing.

Not only has every leader I have talked with confirmed the view that the Marshall Plan will be succeeded by a more or less public war plan, but this report, whether communist-inspired or not, has gained circulation throughout all of Europe, and scared the life out of millions of people.

These millions, non-communists and anti-communists, do not want war at any price. They do not want to fight anyone. They are indifferent to the ideological conflict between West and East. They do not give a damn about the battle between Capitalism and Communism, between Free Enterprise and Karl Marx, between Truman and Stalin. All they know is that if the battle leads to bloody war it will be fought on European soil; they will be killed, or their loved ones will be killed, and they do not want war at that price.

This is the real story of the Marshall Plan as it is working out in Europe today. It has made friends among government officials, and enemies among the millions. Spaak of Belgium is the leading spokesman for the ERP, but the Belgian people are scared over the next invasion, the next bombing, whether by American or Russian planes. The Labour Party of Britain officially welcomes the Marshall Plan, but the unions which compose the party, and the millions who compose the unions, are almost 100 per cent opposed to participation in the next war.

The French people, the Italian people, all the people of the West, regardless of class of society, regardless of party, fascists, semifascists, communists, socialists, reactionaries, and liberals are united on only one point, and that is: the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact are the forerunners of lend-lease, rearmaments, war preparations, and eventually World War III which will destroy most of the European continent and the British Isles, the lives of millions of people, and perhaps civilization itself. The only point of disagreement is whether it is the United States or the U.S.S.R. which is guilty. It may interest Americans to know that there are

about the same number in Europe—non-communists—who accuse the United States and Russians equally. These millions want peace, and being good Europeans they know the historical truth that every armament race leads to war. And no one can deny the armament race.

If all these moves (ERP, lend-lease, Western Union, Atlantic Pact, etc.) are war moves, the American people should know it, and the American press (and also the radio) should print and broadcast the news. They are the means of mass information. Items of most serious import have appeared, but never in the big press, and never in the big headlines.

For example, the *Financial Times* of London was quoted (in all the newspapers of Bruxelles on July 2, 1948, when the present writer happened to be there) as follows: "It is possible that we shall discover shortly that our American 'benefactors' have sown dragon's teeth." A mere ironic remark about the Marshall Plan.

But in the *Congressional Record* of April 2nd (pp. A2191-2) there will be found a speech—sensational in more than a journalistic sense—by Representative William Lemke of North Dakota which despite the fact the Congressman once ran on a Coughlinite ticket and has other such marks against his record, was certainly worth news space. Mr. Lemke had said:

"The Marshall Plan will produce only hatred and war. It is as stupid as it is dangerous. . . . In his armaments race, in his power politics, the President is . . . entering an undeclared war. . . ."

There can be no doubt about the meaning of Admiral Halsey's declaration (April 13, 1948) that "the Marshall Plan is no longer a charitable gesture but an insurance policy"; or in the June 5th declaration by Congressman George Mahon of Texas that "If ever a war should break out between the East and the West, millions of American lives and billions of dollars would be saved if we had on our side 260,000,000 western Europeans." Since the speech favored the Marshall Plan its warlike content was unmistakable.

There are scores, if not thousands of such items; and eventually in 1949 it is taken for granted—in the small press, but never in the big press—that we are using the Marshall Plan and other political moves for war. The “U.S. wants all Scandinavia lined up on the U.S. side of the fence, tied in to the North Atlantic Pact, ready to fight Russia if and when necessary,” states *United States News* (February 11, 1949), adding that “peace talk is upsetting,” that there is “fear that talk of peace may disturb plans for a military alliance with Western Europe.”

Le Monde is the successor to *Le Temps*, which was the most reactionary—and the more influential—newspaper in the France of the Third Republic. Therefore the fact that it also, along with the French liberal, socialist and communist press, has not accepted the Marshall Plan at its American face value—the face of Kris Kringle, smiling as he distributes largesse—is of considerable interest. It is of great interest when the basis of *Le Monde*’s swing into the opposition is a report from the United Nations meeting in Paris, written by R. H. Shackford and sent out to the whole world (which had the right to suppress it of course) by the United Press.

In France this report in several instances was headlined as “Le ‘Mein Kampf’ americain.” *Le Monde* called it “*un plan de guerre*” in its leading article by M. Servan-Schreiber (October 15, 1948). The UP item stated it represented the plan of Marshall himself, and had already been approved by Mr. Thomas E. Dewey, then a candidate for President of the United States and generally believed as good as elected.

The American plan, as credited to the UP and published in several newspapers in Paris, included the following “ten commandments” which follow, the quotation marks being exactly as they appeared in the French version, and the translation my own:

1. “Refuse to negotiate on the German question” and attempt to obtain “a moral condemnation of the USSR by an enormous majority at the United Nations”;
2. “Incite” the nations outside the USSR and the Peo-

ples Democracies, "to march as far as possible along the road to political, military and economic unification";

3. "Demand of the American Congress approval of a vast lend-lease military program in time of peace, in favor of West Europe. The initial cost of this program might be five billion dollars."

4. "Conclude a 'North Atlantic Alliance' consisting at least of the U.S. and Canada on one side of the ocean, and on the other Norway, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Portugal." [NOTE: The Atlantic Pact mentioned here in October 1948 became a headline news event of February 1949].

5. "Incite the other European nations attached to the flanks of Western Union—such as the other Scandinavian and the Mediterranean countries—to collaborate as directly as possible with the nations of the Atlantic Alliance, if they are not able or not willing to adhere directly to that alliance."

6. "Attempt to persuade all the states of Europe (outside the USSR and the Peoples Democracies) that they will end up in the federation."

7. "Continue the diplomatic offensive which began with the Truman Doctrine and which has been followed with the Marshall Plan and with Western Union."

8. "Fight against the independence movements of nationalist Asia and sustain Chiang Kai-shek."

9. "Convince the nations of the British Commonwealth that in allying themselves with Europe they reenforce themselves without weakening the unity of the Commonwealth."

10. "Fight desperately to guard, outside the (democratic) camp, the most menaced zones, such as France and Italy; and prevent the hesitants, and the partisans of 'the middle road' such as India and Argentina, from compromising the solid front."

Naturally enough the anti-Marshall Plan press denounced the foregoing as "*un nouveau pact antikomintern*," the successor of Hitler's Anti-Komintern Pakt and the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. *France Nouvelle* (October 23) suggested it should be called the "Frankfort-Hague-Bruxelles-London-Paris-Rome-Madrid-Canada-Tokio-Alaska" Axis. The reactionary *Le Monde*, which is generally credited in France with first making public this American news dispatch, wrote of the plan:

"In other sectors, the U.S. . . . consolidates its position; for example, in South America and Japan, perhaps even in Germany and in Africa, which are also strategic points. But this is not enough: it is necessary that an equilibrium be established wherever there is a dangerous leaning towards Moscow.

"This is an immense enterprise. It requires a worldwide Super Marshall Plan, as large as all the disposable resources of the Americans permit; a plan which must be accompanied, in order to succeed, with exceptional internal pressure in the nations."

It is not surprising therefore to read this headline in *France Nouvelle*: "Plan Marshall: Plan de Guerre." (Marshall Plan: War Plan.)

This is one subject on which communists, non-communists and anti-communists of non-communist Europe agree, that the Marshall Plan is a war plan. The European press discusses the war implications openly.

Not so the American press.

The American press did report that there is a commission with headquarters in London which will eventually change the calibration of all armaments of Britain, America and what the East calls the "satellite nations" of the West. This is an amazing fact. If it means anything at all it means that there will be no difficulty in the supply of fighting material to Europe by America; it means that a big step ahead has been made in preparing for World War III. But although one news item so reported years ago, the American people do not know the fact and its implications.

The Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* carried, on the morning of October 13, 1948, the headline "RUSSIANS SEEN FORCING ERP OUTLAY OF ARMS," and under it, five or six inches of a Washington report which began:

Senator Ralph Flanders, Republican of Vermont, told reporters today that the United States had lost a "major and perhaps the decisive battle" in the cold war. He said the Russians were succeeding in diverting the Marshall

Plan from the goal of European economic recovery to one of rearmament.

Mr. Flanders predicted the Soviets "will not start war for at least three years, because Russia is gaining her ends by forcing an enormous and expensive expansion of the armed forces on this country and West Europe. . ."

At this time the *New York Times* was issuing a special airborne edition for the United Nations meeting in Paris, and the next day on its arrival the same news was repeated, with this paragraph emphasized: when Mr. Flanders had remarked on the Marshall Plan being diverted into a rearmament program, he added: "This change in the purpose of the Marshall Plan interferes with European recovery, threatens our own prosperity, and is a victory for Russia."

On November 22nd *Life*, whose editor was born in China and who is No. 1 among America's pro-Chiang propagandists, stated that "The U.S. must drastically shift its official thinking on China . . . the Asiatic problem must cease to be a chore for Paul Hoffman and ECA and become the problem of the Chiefs of Staff. . . . And what of the Japanese—should they, as some people in the U.S. and in China already are suggesting, be armed for combat on our behalf in Asia? . . ."

And the Methodist Church on December 10th (according to the AP) warned "against the Marshall Plan becoming a 'military lend-lease program for rearming Western Europe.' . . . The church said in a resolution: 'We respectfully urge that the European Recovery Program, known as the Marshall Plan, be kept strictly to its original objectives of relief and rehabilitation.' The church's endorsement of the plan is subject, the board said, to its not becoming a military lend-lease program."

One can also find a reference by a columnist such as this: "Every Frenchman has at the back of his mind the fear of another war . . ."

"The fear of war and the present strategic insecurity of Western Europe are weapons against the Marshall Plan far

more useful to the Kremlin than the Western European communists."

But, in a country where headlines are used on very small affairs indeed, and war scares have been a matter of history, there has been almost nothing at all said about "Plan Marshall: Plan de Guerre," the Marshall Plan as a war plan, as the Paris papers not once but frequently, and in some instances approvingly, report.

Outside the communist publications in America it is almost impossible to find anything in print fairly and intelligently analyzing the Marshall Plan and its collateral descendants, Western Union, the Atlantic Pact, or the proposed war commitments of the United States to the West. Ranged alongside the American Communists are some strange individuals and publications. Here is a respective sample of each:

Mr. Cox: Mr. Speaker, this is a serious moment in the history of our country and the world and the person who does not see it is blind. . . . We should strip away the veil of words that conceal the truth and let the people know something of the peril under which they live.

Mr. Speaker, there no longer exists any reason why the so-called Marshall Plan should be camouflaged as a purely relief measure. It cannot be justified upon such ground. . . .

Mr. Speaker, the saddest thing about the Marshall Plan is that it does not put emphasis upon military assistance rather than upon economic aid. Dollars alone will not stop Russia. Force can only be stopped by greater force. . . .

Mr. Speaker, this bill is a war measure. . . ."

Thus, in defense of the Marshall Plan as a war plan, Representative Eugene Cox of Georgia, about whom nothing more need be said.

Then there is the *Chicago Tribune*, which published a secret American war defense plan three days before Pearl Harbor—and was mentioned a day or two after that event by Adolf Hitler in his declaration of war on the United States. Appropriately enough one of the many *Tribune* editorials denouncing the Marshall Plan as a step toward World

War III—the well-known Communist thesis—is introduced into the *Congressional Record* (May 5, 1948) by Congressman Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, about whom also nothing more need be said:

The Next Step

The Truman administration and the bi-partisan boys in Congress are now talking about a military guaranty for the five-nation western European coalition against the Soviet Union. A revival of lend-lease to rearm these countries and such other allies as can be mustered is also recommended.

Before proceeding to these objectives, the schemers thought it prudent to get the Marshall Plan passed under false pretenses. . . .

Not only will the Marshall Plan fail to save us from these things [defense expenditures] at home, but it is now admitted that the Marshall Plan is not going to save non-communist Europe from communism. . . .

As before, the American people are taken a little distance along the road [to war] at a time. . . .

Lend-lease will not only hasten the pace of this country toward national insolvency but will put the United States into a position everywhere in the world where it can be taken into war whenever Russia, one of its satellites, or one of the countries to be taken under the American wing chooses to start the firing. . . .

If Congress caves in once more, we shall be on the threshold of war just as we were in 1941.

As a peace plan, ERP has been a matter of life or death for a good many Europeans; as a war plan it would be a matter of life or death for the greater part of the civilized world, and its primary importance is certainly worth intelligent reporting and sane discussions. We have had neither in our own country. Every Russian paper without exception has attacked the Marshall Plan, but so have the majority of newspapers of the Eastern countries, and it is equally true that ninety or ninety-eight per cent of the American press has endorsed it as fanatically, and only a few warped voices—such as those quoted above—have attacked it. A nation preparing for “defense” with a budget of about fifteen bil-

lion dollars a year ought to be informed of all the political moves tending toward peace or war.

Press, People, Atlantic Pact

Secretary of State Acheson declared in February 1949 that the North Atlantic Defense Pact was the most important decision in American history. That is how it appeared at the time. History may modify that appraisal but one would be on the safe side in saying it was one of three or four most decisive decisions affecting the lives of the American people.

Nevertheless, it was conceived in the secrecy of a conspiracy.

No attempt was made by the newspapers to inform the public. It was as if a dictatorial State Department had issued instructions for silence in a land where freedom of the press was unknown.

Yet, as early as January 24, 1949, the newsweekly *Time* in one of its rare exhibitions of iconoclasm, betrayed the worst instance of secret diplomacy of the postwar years. "Seldom since the war," it stated, "had a diplomatic document been drafted in greater secrecy. For more than six months in Washington and London, experts of seven nations, like diligent sculptors, have chipped away at it behind closed doors. They were still not ready to unveil their handiwork, the North Atlantic Alliance. But last week, the State Department started a sales campaign to tell the U.S. what its general form would be. To newsmen, the department handed out a 4,000-word brochure, titled 'Building the Peace—Collective Security in the North Atlantic Area'. . ."

There was a time when secret diplomacy, as well as secret lives, was always a challenge to the American press: it pried into sinister diplomacy with the same eagerness it pried into private bedrooms. But today, while the Hearst and Howard press and the tabloids and other caterers to moronia con-

tinued in the latter field, almost no one engages in the former activity.

Several months later, when secrecy and conspiracy, silence and suppression, were noted in the Senate itself, the press again was among the guilty, and again one of the few exceptions was a conservative columnist with no reputation whatever for disclosures or exposés. Arthur Krock of the *New York Times* noted on March 10th that there had been a protest, and that it had been suppressed. He wrote: "Senator Watkins of Utah voiced the feelings of many when he took the Senate floor to complain of the secrecy in which the State Department has shrouded the process of composing the text of the proposed North Atlantic Defense Pact."

Mr. Krock pointed out that Senator Watkins charged that the State Department planned to issue the document so near to the date fixed for signing that the Senate would not have time for study and debate; that immediately after the parties to the contract signed it a propaganda campaign for ratification by the United States, which Mr. Watkins said is already under way in the press, would be intensified; and that the Senator also said that "if now you turn down the President the whole world will say the communists have won a victory and you . . . are only helping the communists." But from there on Mr. Krock defends the press, saying that the Senator admitted he had depended "on a newspaper columnist for information" upon which to base his indictment of the State Department. Mr. Krock claims the Senator "indicated that in the word 'columnist' he was also covering reporters."

In truth, as *In Fact* pointed out (March 28), Arthur Krock was probably the unique exception in this conspiracy of silence.

The Atlantic Pact, as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan before it, was proclaimed as being in the national interest and directed against certain aggressors not officially named; nevertheless, a patriotic enthusiasm (or hysteria, as the opponents labeled it) was created, the red flag was hauled

out as the alternative choice to the Stars and Stripes, and even the suggestion of "treason" was made against those who opposed the administration policies.

Three days after Senator Watkins' charge of discounting or suppression of this news of opposition, the press confirmed his strictures by its treatment of the Protestant Church Conference in Cleveland. The conference spoke for 35,000,000 Americans in passing a resolution for peace which said in part: "We reaffirm our firm conviction that war with the Soviet Union is not inevitable, and we believe that it is improbable." Burial or suppression was the fate of this news item.

Similarly, the action by the National Farmers Union, a truly liberal organization which speaks the grass roots language of several million men and women, was suppressed almost everywhere. The *Herald Tribune* (March 23) gave it a nine-and-a-half line story, a "shirt tail" to another item, but the rest of the metropolitan press, which boasts it is the best and is usually rated the best in the country, threw this news into the wastebasket. The voice of America's liberal farmers had spoken out against the Atlantic Pact as a war weapon.

The debate in the Senate continued through March, but none of the liberals took the lead. The most conservative members, some of them old-time reactionaries and isolationists, attacked the Atlantic Pact, but while the press was devoting millions of columns to propagandizing it, it could find little or no space for dissenting voices.

Senator Watkins was followed by Senator Malone of Nevada who on March 31st named the Bankers Trust Co., Chase National Bank, National City Bank, Irving Trust, Guaranty Trust, Manufacturers Trust and Central Hanover as the seven Wall Street banks whose directors were the most active propagandists for the Marshall Plan and which were being "paid off" by sharing \$316,000,000 worth of business under the program. The press merely reported that Sen. Malone "spoke for six hours and criticized the administration's program."

Isolationist (and frequent Russia-baiter) Senator Jenner of Indiana was rebaited in the Senate for his opposition to the Pact, but forgotten by the press, when he said on March 28th:

"The field is so large, the misinformation is so great, the whole picture is so obscure, and the American people are so misinformed that I wish to say 'again and again and again' that I believe we cannot do all of these things (Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, Truman Doctrine, etc.) all over the world, all at the same time without going bankrupt. . . .

"I have no doubt that the North Atlantic Pact will be ratified and that the Marshall-plan legislation will be passed because men say we have a moral commitment. . . . But let us tell the American people what we are doing when we sign such a pact. Let us tell them that we are committing ourselves to a European ground war. . . . If we are committed to a European war, let us tell the American mothers that World War II was a plaything. . . . Let up quit kidding the American people. We know the next war will not be confined to a European ground war. It will not even be confined to a continent. It will be a global war. . . . Then let us not kid the people. . . . If we are to enter into the kind of commitment proposed, the peoples of this nation might as well be told to prepare for universal military training, to get ready to make an armed camp out of the country and, tragically, to turn it over to a military dictatorship. If we do not mean what we say, let us not sign the pact."

Senator Jenner then stressed this point: that it was impossible for the United States to buy the allegiance of the people of Europe through the Marshall Plan aid or other economic measures. "Do not forget," he continued, "that you can bribe a government, but cannot necessarily buy the minds and hearts of its people. If one does not think that American popularity has hit a new low around the world, let him ask any intelligent and informed traveler who has just returned from abroad."

Senator Jenner was followed the next day by Senator

Watkins who again charged press suppression of the views of Malone, Jenner, Donnell of Missouri and himself.

"I call attention to the fact," he said, "that the press of the country gave very little notice to any of the questions raised with respect to the pact." (The questions were, first, whether it did not lead to war rather than peace; also its legality; its bypassing the United Nations; its violation of articles 52 and 53 of the U.N. Charter; its break with Jeffersonian tradition.)

"In this country," continued the Senator, "where we pride ourselves on the fact that we have full information, it seems we now have an iron curtain here through which some of us cannot get through to the people with respect to certain phases of this treaty. . .

"I invite attention to the fact that when the Senator from Missouri (Donnell) who is admitted to be a great constitutional lawyer, made a speech on the floor of the Senate, some of the newspapers which claim to publish everything that is fit to print did not even mention what he had said. Yet a day or so before—or perhaps the same day—the distinguished former chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee (Vandenberg) made a speech on the same subject, and the newspapers not only gave the ordinary news story but many of them printed the text of his speech. . . .

"Let anyone raise his voice praising the program and he immediately gets the headlines. But what has been the treatment accorded those who question the treaty? . . .

"The American people must be informed. I hope the American press, of which I have been a part in a very modest way, will at least give some information about the important questions which are being raised in connection with this treaty."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE EAST BESTS THE WEST

By now the reader ought to have the suspicion, if not the conviction, that if there are any curtains—paper, silken, or iron—anywhere in the world, they can be found close to home, and notably in the American daily press.

As a test, it is suggested that the reader ask himself and several of his friends if they have ever read newspaper or heard radio reports stating that in the race for recovery throughout the world from the devastating effects of World War II, the so-called iron curtain countries, which suffered the most, have made a better showing than the countries little harmed by the war and recently aided with billions by the American taxpayer.

If it could be shown as true that Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Rumania have done comparatively better than Britain, France, Belgium, Italy and the others, it would be a fact of tremendous significance. It would be something the whole world should know about. But the average American does not know anything at all about the tremendous progress, material and cultural, nations without Marshall Plan money have made—and why.

If it is true that the impoverished, devastated, historically

backward East has indeed done better than the West which had a higher standard of living for generations, then each American family which has put up hundreds of dollars for the West has a right to demand an explanation, perhaps an accounting.

But America is not really informed. The East, as will be shown later, has made progress because it has worked out its destiny in plans: 2-year, 3-year and 5-year plans; it has abolished free enterprise, which in their countries meant riches for the few and impoverishment for the many, and it has devoted itself exactly to that goal which is mentioned in the American Constitution—the general welfare of the majority.

It is impossible to conceive of the American press telling this to the American people.

What the press has done has been to repeat, day by day and year by year, every little shortcoming of the planned economies of both Great Britain and of the Continent. It has harped on every failure and frequently suppressed all mention of successes.

Moreover, as one travels through the friendly West, the nations in the American orbit, those the East calls “the American satellite states” just as we refer to them as the “Russian satellites,” one is impressed by the fact that the American press has not reported on the tremendous effort made by American diplomatic and Marshall Plan officials not only to prevent any planned economy, and certainly to stop socialism (as well as communism), but to prevent even the most fundamental reforms the Western nations need in order to satisfy their own people.

Officially, and for publication, the anti-communist politicians and statesmen of Britain, Italy, France, Belgium and other recipients of American money have expressed their gratitude; unofficially, they have joined with the enemies of the Marshall Plan—the Communists—in questioning its role as a forerunner of war plans, its economic pressures, its political directives. One cannot imagine from meager press reports how upset the British Government and the British peo-

ple were when what they feared and suspected was bluntly stated in the pro-British and pro-Marshall Plan *Herald-Tribune* in a tiny news item:

Presidential candidate Harold Stassen has demanded in effect a "moratorium on socialism" as a quid pro quo for American aid to Europe and this idea has found support in influential conservative quarters. . .

The date is November 2, 1947. On the following May 13th, testifying before a Senate Committee on the British plan to complete its socialization program with the nationalization of the steel industry—the only really powerful big business in the nation because it is closely affiliated with Lombard Street and high finance—Paul Hoffman said: "We would have to decide whether socialization would make for recovery. My guess is that it would not."

When I arrived in London a month later the lobby and the terrace of the Houses of Parliament were still rumbling with protest, nevertheless my friend who occupies a high position at 10 Downing Street, a spokesman for the Government, told me that so far as he knew there had been no pressure whatever from the American side to check, contain, or stop the mild, purely domestic form of socialism of the Labour Party regime.

My informant is the diplomat I have already had to quote anonymously; and a diplomat is not necessarily Wootton's "man sent abroad to lie for his country"; he can perform the same major function at home. His view on American ERP pressure, as his views on a coming war, were confirmed by the international secretary of his party, Mr. Healey, who, denying that American representations against socialization had ever been made, admitted immediately that the American Embassy in London, the special diplomatic envoys and the officials administering the Plan in Britain were arguing "almost daily" against the nationalization of steel.

Moreover, Mr. Zilliacus pointed out to me that on May 4 and 5, 1948, "we debated nothing but American pressure against our nationalization program. Pritt (D. N. Pritt,

K.C.) and I not only spoke on the matter but both of us denounced interference by the United States in our internal affairs." Mr. Zilliacus thundered:

"American intervention in Europe is fostering fascism and incubating violent social revolution. It is the greatest single obstacle to a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism, and therefore to the growth of democracy and political freedom . . . I think it is a shame and a disaster that the Labour Government should be dragged by the U.S.A. along these evil and calamitous courses."

This is the extreme socialist view. But the Tory *Express* of Lord Beaverbrook (June 16, 1948) and the great conservative *Times* (June 11, 1948) joined in strident and calm voices respectively in deploring and questioning the Marshall Plan and its pressures.

The *Board of Trade Journal*, spokesman of the most conservative interests, reported (October 16, 1948) that "the question is sometimes asked whether it would not have been wiser for Britain to have refused ERP aid altogether and to have relied on her efforts to bring about her recovery."

The official spokesmen of government hand out the conventional statements, but any correspondent who reports them is merely reporting propaganda; the facts are that no one in Britain from Left to Right is pleased with the Marshall Plan, and the United States has made no friends with it; it has bought no ally for the coming war.

Germany as Ally

But a greater journalistic sin, a sin of omission rather than commission, was the comparative silence which followed the announcements of the inclusion of Germany among the beneficiaries of the Marshall Plan. Germany's steel production was raised, Germany—at least the Western or Anglo-Franco-American zone—was to be treated as a potential ally.

At this moment, it is true, the protests from France were fairly well reported in our press; but it was never plainly

stated that from this moment France regarded World War III as inevitable and a fourth invasion by the Germans in less than a hundred years as possible.

America itself did not protest. Journalistic tempests, tornados and tremors, all of them self-started, such as the "Russian submarines in American waters" hoax, the Cardinal Mindszenty furor, the "red rape of Czechoslovakia," and scores of others which have traversed the country, failed to get started when the news of the reconstitution of Germany as a power-nation was announced. American silence obviously meant American approval.

In the *Washington Post* (February 17, 1948) there can be found a protest signed by C. Monteith Gilpin, secretary of the Society for the Prevention of World War III, which Congressman Sadowski of Michigan found important enough to place in the *Congressional Record* of the 19th. "The Society," states Mr. Gilpin, "has endorsed the basic principles of the ERP. . . . Since Germany's threat to world peace lies not in her own capacity to wage an independent war within the next quarter of a century but in her value as a partner in any future world conflict, it is important that her bargaining power as such a partner be kept to a minimum." A plan for aiding the people, maintaining a nonmilitary Germany, is given. (The French and British proposals of socialization, of nationalization, of interallied control of a completely demilitarized Germany, with its steel capacity in Allied hands, were of course rejected by the United States.)

The fact that columnist Thomas L. Stokes, syndicated by Scripps-Howard, wrote several articles—they appear under the caption "ERP and Cartels" in the *Congressional Record*, April 22, 1948—must be noted, but since Mr. Stokes is the only liberal Press Lord Roy Howard keeps in his domain and because he is frequently suppressed by his own newspapers, it cannot be said that his views can counteract the scores of reactionary items or make up for the silence of his colleagues. Mr. Stokes states that "our hope" that the sinis-

ter German cartel powers which were behind Hitler and which had "ties with big business and finance" in America would be broken "has been confounded. . . A few weeks ago our lenient policy came to its inevitable climax, and a shocking climax in contrast with the objectives we professed at the war's end." General Clay had annulled the laws for breaking up the German cartels. Germany was included in the recovery program. Mr. Stokes feared that "we are headed again along the road that we took after World War I."

In Congress the severest criticism—which did not make the front page of the newspapers, or the back pages for that matter—came from Representative Blatnik, Democrat of Minnesota, who said (March 25, 1948) that he had welcomed the Marshall Plan, voted for it, and still approved Mr. Marshall's definition of it: "Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

Mr. Blatnik continued: "The idea of the Marshall Plan had no sooner been planted, however, than the shabby and underhand work of the Wall Street and military clique got under way to pervert its humanitarian purposes and transform it into a negative program of political and military intervention and domination. The process began when former President Herbert Hoover was invited to participate in the writing of the Marshall Plan. As a result of his shaping hand, the rebuilding of the war potential of Germany became the first requisite of European recovery. . .

"On March 11 the House Committee on Foreign Affairs (gave) millions for military aid to the reactionary and corrupt Greek monarchy and the equally corrupt and reactionary Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

"In other words, Mr. Chairman, the passage of this so-called Marshall Plan means that a colossal hoax has been perpetrated upon the American people. . . This proposal . . . is designed to bolster political reaction throughout the world, and to rebuild primarily the war potential of Ger-

many. . . It is an unworkable program because it breaks the economic balance of Europe by making East-West trade almost impossible. . .”

(This last statement is probably the most intelligent twenty words ever said in America about the Marshall Plan.) Mr. Blatnik concluded:

“The rebuilding of Germany and the weakening of the United Nations can only bring new wars.”

But the Congressman who praised ERP got the headlines.

We Stop Italian Reform

In addition to fighting British socialization and aiding the revival of a Germany which is, according to a United States Army investigation, about 85 per cent Nazi, the Marshall Plan has also delayed, if not prevented the most important reform in Italy—redistribution of the landed estates.

“Nearly half of the 8,000,000 farmers of Italy are landless,” reported Barrett McGurn in the Paris edition of the *Herald Tribune* (September 23, 1948). “Two million are mere day laborers, working only 150 days a year, at \$1.60 a day. Half the productive land is in the hands of less than 1 per cent of the landholders, many of them idle aristocrats whose family had the property since the Middle Ages.

“The threat of communism will not leave Italy’s great farming zones until at least some of the great estates are redistributed among the propertyless, Italy’s anti-communist government is convinced.”

That April the Catholic Party had joined with the Communist Party in promising agrarian reform.

But on January 28, 1949, columnist Joseph Alsop in the *Herald Tribune*—and no other writer and no other paper—exposed the Marshall Plan and its chief in Italy, J. D. Zellerbach, as having used their power to stop the most vital reform necessary for Italy’s survival.

“It is downright shocking,” Alsop wrote, “that American

policy is rapidly acquiring the reputation of being reactionary. Specifically here in Italy land reform must take first place in any program of social betterment. . . Yet passive American opposition to land reform has just been indicated by no less a personality than the chief of the ERP mission here, J. D. Zellerbach. . . He warned that reforms must not hamper the harvest in the present crucial crop year. On the other hand, although Zellerbach may not have noticed it, the American election has now shown our people on the side of social progress. The crisis year is over in Italy. And there can be no possible excuse for the statement issued by Zellerbach just before leaving Italy that he could not countenance any land reform which would result even in a temporary drop in the land's productivity. . ."

Mr. Alsop would have his readers believe that not only De Gasperi but his cabinet are "committed to land reform," "wish to begin the job immediately," and would have begun it were it not for American interference. But De Gasperi is as much a prisoner of the men who put him in power as any ruler is, and among the men who made De Gasperi premier are the landlords, lay and clerical, to whom agrarian (or industrial or any other) reform would mean a loss of money. There can only be a face-saving or false reform at present.

As for the Vatican's policy, I went to see Don Sturzo—who is a sort of nonfictional hero in my book *Sawdust Caesar*, in which Mussolini is the nonfictional bloody villain—and all I got from him in an hour's talk on the land problem was summed up in his word "patienza."

About the same time that Mr. Alsop made his tremendous disclosures of American sabotage in Italy, Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote of the impoverished Italian south. "This is where agrarian reform must start," she said, not naively, and concluded: "ECA in Italy is taking a hand in this program." That it is not a helping hand, but rather a hand holding a dagger in it, as her colleague disclosed, is not even suggested.

East Compared to West

On the 6 o'clock news report of the Columbia Broadcasting System, the evening of February 5, 1949, it was stated that the United Nations, then meeting at Lake Success, had issued a survey on the world's economic progress which showed that the Eastern nations had done better than most Marshall Plan nations.

Inasmuch as I had not seen this report in the morning newspapers I went to the wastebasket and looked through them again. I found long stories under these headlines:

U.N. FINDS ECONOMY OF WORLD IMPROVED

Sees Better Times Ahead with Prices Declining and
Needs of Consumers Being Met

—*Times*

U.N. REPORTS RECORD WORLD OUTPUT IN 1948

Inflation Declared Checked; Production Tops '47 by 10%,
is 20% Over '37

—*Herald Tribune*

PRODUCTION UP ALL OVER WORLD, UN UNIT HOLDS

—*News*

The *Times* story was almost a column long and told just what its headline said. In only its penultimate paragraph did it suggest anything like the CBS story: "Most of the increase in world production last year was accounted for by the expansion of production in the Soviet Union and in Europe in general, particularly in the devastated countries, including Germany." Nothing more.

The *Herald Tribune* paragraph was in the middle of the column, saying about the same.

To my surprise the *News*, the largest circulated daily in America, devoted mainly to sex, sensations, comic strips and the people with the 12 year IQ, in its half-column story did include these paragraphs, a full third of its story:

The report also shows a greater increase in production for some Soviet bloc countries of eastern Europe than for some Marshall Plan countries. Italy, the report said, showed a slight decline in production, while Poland showed an increase of 25%.

Figures on Russian production were not quoted in the report, but the UN survey credited expansion of Soviet production as a major factor in the world scene. Cost of living in Russia had also fallen considerably, the report added.

Now this is news, not only for the *Daily News* but for any publication which claims to be a newspaper. I asked the UN press section for a copy of the report.

It was issued on February 1st, marked for release on the 5th. It gave the press at least four days to prepare the item.

The title, "Major Economic Changes in 1948," with the authority of the United Nations behind it, should have been enough to impress even a police reporter with the significance of this document. Throughout January the big newspapers of the world had been publishing whole editions devoted to nothing but this subject—emphasizing America, of course—based on governmental handouts at times, on real documentation at other times, and on hearsay and just ordinary reporters' impressions also. The reader will understand why some of the most significant parts of this report were suppressed if he will read the following extract:

United Nations
Economic and Social Council

MAJOR ECONOMIC CHANGES IN 1948

The countries which remained outside the active theatres of the war showed the highest levels of industrial output in relation to pre-war production. . .

According to preliminary estimates, the rate of industrial production for the world as a whole during the first nine months of 1948 reached a level equal to about 132 per cent of that of 1937. This level represented an increase of 11 per cent over that of the corresponding period of 1947. . .

The bulk of the increase in world production in 1948 was accounted for by the expansion of production in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and in Europe,

particularly in the devastated countries, including Germany. . .

Industrial production in a number of seriously devastated countries in Europe also increased significantly during 1948. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where industrial output in the latter part of 1947 reached the 1940 level, production in 1948 was 18 per cent above that of 1940 and 27 per cent above that of 1947. Polish production during the second quarter of 1948 (within present boundaries) attained a level equal to 136 per cent of the volume of industrial production in 1937 (within pre-war boundaries). . .

Industrial production in Italy, which at the end of 1947 had reached 80 per cent of the pre-war level, declined slightly during 1948. The rate of industrial output in France during the first nine months of 1948 was about equal to that of 1937—a substantial increase over the last quarter of 1947, when it was 87 per cent of the pre-war level. . .

A number of countries are grouped below according to the percentage increase in output in the first nine months of 1948 compared with the corresponding period of 1947 and according to the level of industrial production reached in 1947 in relation to 1937 activity.

<i>Level of industrial activity in 1947 (as per cent of 1937)</i>	<i>Per cent increase, 1948 over 1947</i>		
	<i>Under 10 per cent</i>	<i>10 to 25 per cent</i>	<i>More than 25 per cent</i>
More than 125 per cent	Canada, Chile, Mexico, Sweden, United States	USSR	
100 to 115 per cent...	Denmark, Norway	United Kingdom	Poland
80 to 99 per cent	Belgium	Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Netherlands	
Under 75 per cent...	Greece, Italy		Austria, Germany, Japan

In *Italy*, the index of industrial production, which in the autumn of 1947 was still considerably below pre-war levels, ceased to rise at that point and began to fall. In the second quarter of 1948 production began to rise again, but in the third quarter it was still below the peak reached in 1947. Registered unemployment, which had already been considerable, began rising in January 1948 and prices both of food and of industrial goods fell. . .

In *Poland*, the introduction of effective methods for

direct tax collection and the reduction of profits earned in trade (through increases in Government prices to retailers and through competition from co-operatives and Government shops) resulted in a decline in the pressure of demand upon the supply of consumer goods. On the supply side, the loss of UNRRA goods was offset in the second half of 1947 and in 1948 by increased home production of meats and dairy products; by larger food imports financed by increased exports, especially of coal; by a grain loan obtained in 1947 from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and by a good 1948 harvest. In addition, there was a rapid increase in the domestic production and supply of industrial consumer goods. Official prices have remained fairly stable since the autumn of 1947, while wages have increased considerably. . .

The United Nations Survey

Even more sensational and important in many ways than the document quoted above was the final report for 1948 issued in Geneva by the United Nations and available to all the press. My copy is marked: "Unrestricted/Provisional Edition/27 April 1949/Economic Survey of Europe in 1948/ Prepared by the Research and Planning Division/The Economic Commission for Europe." There are 9 chapters, some 300 pages, and 118 pages of tables.

The reader of the *Los Angeles Mirror* of May 6 found exactly one Associated Press paragraph, which follows in full:

U.N. GROUP SAYS ERP DOING HARM

GENEVA . . . A United Nations commission contended today the European recovery program and various national trade policies of European countries are furnishing the disintegration of Europe's economy—in effect hurting more than they are helping.

The headline on this report gave the lie direct to one year's universal barrage of propaganda for the Marshall Plan—and even to the millions of words screaming SUCCESS!!! which followed in 1949. But it rated a paragraph.

The *Los Angeles Times* gave the UN report a half column, with the headline: "NEED SEEN FOR YEARS OF U.S. AID OVERSEAS."

In New York the *Post* on page 16 had a 2-column head—"U.N. BODY SEES MORE ERP HARM THAN AID," and the *World-Telegram* lead off its page-2 column, "The World Over,"—a burial ground for the news of the whole world outside the U.S.A.—with this small item.

I shall not attempt here to summarize the 100,000-word report. But it is the second of the only three impartial studies of the Marshall Plan ever made and it too contains the big statistical news which conflicts with the propaganda and the wishes of America's editors and publishers. In this case it was not only buried and suppressed, it was practically murdered.

The London *Economist* wrote a great truth (January 8, 1949) when it said that "there is no means by which the Marshall countries can, even with the present scale of American aid, prevent a serious fall in their standards of living in 1952." In the planned economy nations the standard has been rising year by year.

In the 30th issue of his new paper, *The Daily Compass*, (June 19, 1949), Editor T. O. Thackrey wrote of the Marshall Plan: "What we are reconstructing is not a civilian and progressive economy . . . we are reconstructing Nazi Germany; we are beginning to recreate fascist Italy; we are re-establishing the cartel system; we are bolstering conservatism and reaction and blocking the way to peaceful and evolutionary political change."

So here again the apologist for the American press can say that it is not 100 per cent "totalitarian." The smalltown *Gazette & Daily* of York, Pennsylvania, with exactly 30,414 subscribers and the new *Compass*, with less than 50,000 buyers, published some criticism (and some truth) about this matter, as they would about other vital matters; but the million-circulation press continued to propagandize and fool the people, as usual.

The Eastern Answer to Marshall

In all the nations of the East everyone, from premier to peasant, accuses the nations of the West of refusing to engage

in trade relations, and blames the Marshall Plan for their refusal.

In all these countries I found that the most important economic fact—and a tremendous suppressed news story (Published in *In Fact*, January 17, 1949) was the mutual integration of the economies of the so-called satellities (with Yugoslavia banned, after once having been a member).

The pacts which have been in force for a long time—although the world press has suppressed for more than a year both the news and its significance—aim at ending commercial rivalry and therefore ending war, inasmuch as the East still believes in the Woodrow Wilson thesis that commercial rivalry is the cause of war.

Simply and plainly the plan is this: one nation has the necessary raw materials, or the already established factories, or the body of skilled men, to produce something other nations need. Other nations have different materials, factories, aptitudes. These nations sign treaties not only for the exchange of these raw materials and finished products, but they pledge themselves they will not engage in the production of the things in which the other treaty nation excels. The result is that the nations are dependent upon one another, just as Pittsburgh produces steel and Detroit produces automobiles and New Haven produces watches and Texas produces sulphur, and there is a free exchange and no question of one state going to war with another to seize the factories or the raw materials.

The new Czechoslovak-Polish treaty provides completely for this end of international rivalry, and for the exploitation of the products for which each nation is best fitted, and a complete exchange of these products. Other Czech treaties contain the same clauses, and eventually it is expected that every one of the Eastern nations will sign such a treaty with its friends and neighbors, and all barriers will cease between them and they will cooperate in about the same way the forty-eight states do in America.

The purpose is to end waste, to end rivalry, and eventually

to end the danger of war. And also to raise the standard of living of all the Eastern peoples by the vast economy of this idea.

This is something new in this world, and it is certainly big news. It is not a theory; it actually exists.

It is the East's answer to the West's Marshall Plan.

Not only free trade, with the removal of all barriers, and not only an exchange of goods instead of the sale of goods, but the gearing and ordering of each nation's entire industry so as not to conflict or come into rivalry with the industry of another nation.

The East, without help, has done better than the West. The reason: planned economy. And the planning, as the foregoing fact reveals, is not hampered by what the National Association of Manufacturers, the Federation of British Industries, and the still active German cartel men believe the most holy motive in human nature: the profit motive. The East has not only done well, and comparatively better than the West, but it has made great plans for the future.

The idealists of the West also have made great plans. Nothing could be more noble in the present-day world than the plan made by Paul Hoffman, the Marshall Plan administrator, which appeared in this news item:

ECA WOULD RAISE INCOMES IN EUROPE

Per Capita Advance to \$500 Yearly Urged—Truman
Confers on Increased Aid

(Washington dispatch, *New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1948)

Mr. Hoffman, it seems, "described the basic aim of the Marshall Plan today as an increase in the average per capita income of Western Europeans from \$320 to around \$500 a year and said that its achievement would prevent World War III. . .

" 'You can write this down in your book,' Mr. Hoffman told the ECA workers. 'If the free peoples of the world learn to plan together and work together and stick together, there

will be no Third World War. . . But an average annual income of \$320 a year . . . was not much of a basis on which to arouse any enthusiasm for individual freedom and the dignity of the individual. . . ' "

Now this is a great humanitarian idea, and it is probably true, and Mr. Hoffman deserves the support of all people in his aim to stop wars by giving every human being a better living. But it is also nonsense, because Mr. Hoffman knows, as his assistants in Rome and Paris and elsewhere told me, that it has been impossible to get voluntary cooperation in Western European countries from the political and industrial forces which could make this better world possible.

The opposition comes from the rulers, the governments, the bankers, the big business men, the so-called "Two Hundred Families" (more or less) who rule nations just as the *Deux Cents Familles* of the Banque de France ruled France before the Second World War and were largely responsible for the Third Republic's downfall.

Mr. Hoffman knows, as well as his aides, that Italy is totally corrupt in this respect; that if Premier De Gasperi is a God-fearing man who says his prayers and goes to confession the right number of times as is reliably reported, he is powerless to end graft or alter the status quo under which millions of Italians starve. He cannot put through land reform because the landlords (Vatican and lay nobility) are the men who support his party; he cannot produce social justice for the industrial workers because the old national association of manufacturers of Italy which once paid for the black shirts worn by Mussolini are the men who have paid out millions to return the Catholic Party, of which he is the head, to power.

Mr. Hoffman knows, as his aide told me in Rome, that practically all big business in Italy does not pay taxes, that most deals are conducted on the basis of two million lire on the table and eight million lire under the table, and that unless all reforms are put through, the rich forced to pay taxes and the poor given land, the standard of living will

never rise and Italy will remain a land of contrasts: wealth and conspicuous waste on the one hand, impoverishment on the other.

Italy is the worst example. But Britain is the example of a land in which reforms were made—and attacked by the Marshall Plan. Belgium seems to be well off, but the industrial workers have far to go to reach a high standard of living, and no Belgian employer will cooperate with Mr. Hoffman for that ideal. And so it is throughout Europe.

That is, Western Europe.

The truth about Eastern Europe, as many of the 100 foreign correspondents, at least a score of them Americans, who attended the Danube Conference in Belgrade in 1948 confirmed for me: progress in production, in raising the standard of living and also in raising the standard of culture (an item usually omitted in the waging of the cold war of words of West vs. East), has been phenomenal, a miracle of the post bellum era. Even those journalists who muttered that things were bad in Budapest or Belgrade or Prague where people they knew, lawyers, manufacturers, shopkeepers, were down and out, had to admit that the raised standards for the farm worker and the industrial worker, the millions, that is, are going up; that the regimes they hated and cursed (and frequently lied about in their dispatches) were correct in claiming that the standard of living for the whole people is higher than prewar.

All these correspondents agreed without hesitation on these facts: that no corruption exists in the Eastern lands, that there are no black marketeers and that the exceptions who have been caught have been punished severely, with twenty years in jail in many cases and death for at least one who speculated in food.

In Belgrade (and elsewhere) I found American journalists who remarked darkly about "slave labor" or "forced labor" and others who pointed out every little failure in the agrarian reforms of the Eastern countries, and this is of course what they had been writing; but the majority of foreign cor-

respondents had another story to tell, a story of millions marching to work singing, of an enthusiasm for work, of a release of the spirit and the genius of peoples.

But, unfortunately, this story was not being written.

Now we have the few newspaper paragraphs of the UN report, the plain short factual statement that in Poland and other countries, without the aid of the Marshall Plan, the rate of progress and production has been better than in Italy and in other Western countries. The hidden secret of course is in planned economy and in men singing at their work; it is the enthusiasm, the new hope for a better life which I found everywhere.

And this answers both questions. The newspapers have not published the great truth. They have not explained, because an explanation necessitates an exposure of the corruption of certain countries and the impossibility of getting reactionary regimes to grant reforms. And all the newspaper stories of hoped for better days are nonsense because Europeans who own and control will never give up a little of their power or a fraction of their profits in order to bring about the dream world of Mr. Hoffman; and Mr. Hoffman, who would change all if he could, has found that these forces cannot be overruled.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE VATICAN AS A GREAT POLITICAL POWER

The American press, which always refers to the great labor unions and certain coalitions of political parties in many parts of the world as "communist-dominated" or "Moscow-led," never refers to the new Catholic parties in Europe (or certain organizations in America) as "Vatican-dominated" or "Vatican-led." Nevertheless one of the great facts about world politics today—and the labor movement also—is the overt entrance into the lay affairs of the world of the small but all-powerful authoritarian nation known as the Vatican State.

The Vatican State is a political entity; it rules less than 1,000 persons, but that rule is absolute. It also directs the religious thinking of a claimed 400,000,000 persons. However, no religious question will be discussed in this chapter; it will confine itself to the political parties and nonreligious pressures directed by the Vatican State.

In only one civilized nation is the claim made that the Vatican is not the center of an international political movement.

In only one country is the statement made that the separation of Church and State everywhere is agreeable to the Vatican.

The United States accepts—and the press does not question—the credo of the late leading Catholic layman, Alfred E. Smith, as echoing the official voice of the Pope and the Vatican. Mr. Smith, candidate for President of the United States, and supported by liberals of all parties, had stated:

I believe in absolute freedom of conscience for all men and in equality of all Churches, all sects, and all beliefs before the law as a matter of right and not as a matter of favour. I believe in the absolute separation of Church and State . . . I believe in the support of the public school. . .

To support his credo Mr. Smith quoted Cardinal Gibbons as having said: "American Catholics rejoice in our separation of Church and State, and I can conceive of no combination of circumstances likely to arise which would make a union desirable for either Church and State."

This view is the American tradition. The first President went even further. He said: "The government of the United States is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion." * But it is quite impossible to understand a great turn in historic events throughout the world, especially in Europe and most particularly in the Eastern nations, unless it is reported to the American people that while the Smith credo may remain in force for this country, it is not the policy anywhere else in the world, and that the Vatican has resurrected not only its political parties in all states where this is possible, but generally disapproves of the separation of Church and State and fights that policy with all its means.

In its fear of offending Catholic readers and in the greater fear of a Catholic boycott (such as has been preached against specific papers from pulpits in several cities), the American press fails in its duty to inform the American people about what the Vatican State is actually doing in international politics and in the affairs of many nations. It especially fails on the question of separation of Church and State. Only a hint

* Article XI, Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the United States of America and the Bey and Subjects of Barbary; written by George Washington November 4, 1796; ratified June 10, 1797.

edges into a few of the bravest newspapers, but the contradictions are never explained, the questions are not answered.

For example, the *Herald Tribune* on October 31, 1947, was one of the few newspapers to give ample space to an AP report from Vatican City which it headlined:

POPE OPPOSES 'SUBMISSION' OF CHURCH TO STATE
But Denies That the Two Can Be Wholly Separate;
Attacks Totalitarianism

The *Times* ran only a 3-paragraph "shirt-tail" item.

The "totalitarianism" which the Pope attacked was that which seems to make the Church submit to the State. To the Sacred Rota the Pope declared that a difference in aim of Church and State "certainly does not deny any union between the two, and still less does it dictate between them a cold and dissociated aura of agnosticism and indifference.

"Who would so understand the correct doctrine that the Church and the State are two different perfect societies would fall into error."

But when Bishop Oxnam, speaking in Constitution Hall under the auspices of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, said that the Roman Catholic Church had launched "a full scale attack" on the American principle of separation, Monsignor John J. Spence, director of Catholic Education in the Washington Archdiocese denied the charge vehemently. (*Herald Tribune*, January 29, 1949.)

The *Times* on March 14, 1949, reported Father Vincent F. Holden of the Paulist Information Center speaking for the separation of Church and State, but on March 19th published an indignant correction. Father Holden denied he had said that "under all circumstances there must be complete divorce between Church and State," as the *Times* had reported. His actual words were: "Rome has not condemned the situation that prevails in this country. She did declare as false the universal proposition that 'the Church must be sep-

arated from the State and the State from the Church.' Obviously, the proposition condemned is that always and in every place and under all conditions there must be a complete divorce between Church and State. We can conceive of situations when unions of the two could prove most beneficial."

In fact, the Catholic press has been more honest about the subject than the standard commercial press. In Cardinal Mundelein's *New World*, for example, Dr. Charles Manion wrote "False Church-State Idea Disrupts U.S. Democracy," on August 28, 1940; the Boston diocesan weekly, *The Pilot*, on November 6, 1948 began a series of articles by Rev. Robert H. Lord on "The Separation of Church and State Under the American System"; and from time to time there are reports of addresses and sermons and lectures on the subject—not reported in the daily press—which explain away or directly contradict the Smithian credo. For example, on May 16, 1948 Archbishop Francis J. Rummell in an address at the 43rd annual state convention of the Knights of Columbus, at New Iberia, Louisiana, declared: "We enjoy freedom of religion, but in effect has not the exclusion of religious instruction from public education alienated millions of Americans from their churches and left them with scarcely a vestige of religious faith and practice? . . . The bogey of 'union of Church and State' has in recent years stalked over the country, a form of intimidation, that may influence adversely the popular mind and even the thinking of Americans."

It should be known—and the only way to make it known is via the big press—that the Vatican is opposed to the separation of Church and State and that the Vatican directs political parties and is a political force in Europe, Latin America, Asia and wherever it has followers. Once that is understood by the American people it will be easier to understand what is happening in the Eastern nations of Europe as well as in the West, and in the United Nations and even in the United States. The Vatican has every right to be a political power, both as a state and as an international force;

it has every right to "mix in politics," as the popular expression has it, in America and elsewhere. But the American people have the right to demand of its press that it report the facts about this thousand year activity in world affairs objectively and fully, instead of leaving it to a whispering campaign by enemies of the Roman Church, and the small publications which do not reach the large public.

"Since World War II," states the *United Nations World* (March 1949), "the Catholic Church has enjoyed renewed political vigor and Catholic parties have won strong new roles," and presents a full briefing by Richard Goold-Adams of the London *Economist*.

In Italy the Democratici Cristiani (popularly known as the Democristiani) have 51 per cent of the Chamber of Deputies and 46 per cent of the Senate.

In France the Mouvement Republicain Populaire (MRP) is the Vatican's party. Thanks to the fact the Right in France could find no other refuge, the MRP was tremendously successful in 1944, but today it has lost its De Gaullist wing, many reactionaries and many liberals. It is a middle-of-the-road party, kept together by M. Maurice Schumann, its Secretary-general.

In Germany the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union are the Catholic parties, first in strength in the Western zone. In Holland the Catholic Peoples Party has at times supplied the prime minister of the country. In Belgium the Catholics no longer use their religious affiliation in the name of their party, but call themselves Parti Social Cretien. As in Holland, a coalition with the Socialists usually gives the two the premiership. In Austria the Austrian People's Party is all-powerful; its leader, Figl, is chancellor.

According to Mr. Goold-Adams, "the political heart of each of Europe's Catholic parties is not always in the same place, the relative bias is toward the Right, or at least away from the Left. . ."

The reinstitution of Catholic political parties in many

countries of Europe—they were abandoned in the era of the fascist dictatorships as part of the plan of appeasement—has resulted in frequent proposals for open recognition of the Catholic Internationale. As an example, *Il Quotidiano* of Rome, the daily newspaper published by Catholic Action, on February 14, 1946, brought up the question of “a Christian Social Internationale,” linking all the Catholic political parties of the world. *Quotidiano* quoted the leading Catholic politician Miglioli, saying that “as a great idealist and practical movement the Christian Social Internationale would take its place alongside the Communist and Socialist Internationales.” Reuters of London reported from Rome that “the interview was considered as more than a personal opinion.” But in September 1947 the Religious News Service (undominational) sent out the following significant item from the Vatican:

ROME (RNS)—Vatican authorities have denied reports that Pope Pius XII is planning to launch an international Catholic federation to embrace all Catholic Action associations in countries throughout the world.

“People too often forget,” one spokesman declared, “that a Catholic international has existed for centuries—the Roman Catholic Church.”

A Catholic international exists. The Catholic political parties function both as political parties and Catholics, the agencies of the international political policies of the Vatican whether or not their representatives hold meetings or travel to Rome for their directives.

On this subject the press of a large part of the world, and most notably the American press which shrieks daily about the Communist Internationale and “orders from Moscow,” is usually silent. It suppresses the news of one of the greatest political forces in the modern world.

Vatican vs. Kremlin

In the vast struggle which the Vatican is waging universally against the Kremlin it has either reversed or at least

temporarily abandoned one of the great principles of its policies: to come to a *modus vivendi* with any type of government via any sort of endurable appeasement, compromise, barter, deal, or stand-off arrangement.

To understand Vatican politics one must understand this policy because it explains so much that has happened in history. It was put into a phrase by Pope Leo XIII in his famous encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, which was written to clarify relationship to labor, and to counteract a new movement which was gaining converts to a new force—Marxian socialism.

“The Church,” declared the great Leo, “has never neglected to adapt itself to the genius of nations.” Nor to movements.

Pope Pius XI in 1933 made it even clearer. “The Church,” he wrote, “accommodates herself to all forms of governments and civil institutions, provided the right of God and the Christian conscience is left intact.”

This is the answer notably to those critics of the Church who have asked how it could make concordats with Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and other fascist dictators who gained their control of nations by force and violence, who ruled by terrorism and mass murder, who violated the teachings of the Christian religion and the ethics of mankind. In all instances, the Church's rights were maintained, and the rest apparently did not matter.

Of the relationship with Hitler in his earliest days as a dictator, a leading Catholic layman put it this way: “We may sum up by saying that the Church has pledged itself not to interfere with the progress of fascism in Germany.” (George N. Shuster, *The Commonwealth*, September 1, 1933.)

The election of Cardinal Pacelli as Pope on March 2, 1939, was one of the most significant events in the world because it gave notice that another impressive tradition was being broken. Pacelli was the most political of all the cardinals. He had been especially active in Germany, and in 1917 had tried to argue the Kaiser into making a peace which

would forestall similar efforts being made by the Socialist leaders of the world, then meeting in Sweden. As papal secretary of state Pacelli was in the line of Rampolla and Merry del Val and other statesmen of the Vatican better known for their political abilities than for their concentration on faith and morals. The statesmen have always remained the secretaries of state, powerful but not Popes; and now the leading politician became the Pope.

The policy of adaptation, of adjustment to events, of appeasement on all things except the exercise of religious rights, was given a hard test when Hitler murdered the clerico-fascist dictator Dollfus, invaded Catholic Austria, and in September 1939 invaded Catholic Poland and started the Second World War. The Vatican maintained its neutrality. Then, when President Roosevelt, knowing that Hitler would eventually attempt to conquer the whole world, began arming the United States, he sent Myron C. Taylor to the Pope to ask for a declaration that the war against Naziism was a just war. The Nazi forces at that time seemed invincible. They were about to capture Moscow and Stalingrad and the Baku oil fields. The Pope refused Roosevelt's request.

Today when any publication, and especially one on the Left half of the world, as much as hints that the Vatican is attempting to line up the nations in war, cold or hot, against a rival international, communism, and that the Vatican is organizing in its own manner the league which Hitler formed, his Anti-Komintern Axe, there are loud and outraged cries from the apologists in America. European followers do not apologize; they frequently praise the same action. Nevertheless it was one of the leading writers on the Vatican side, Arnaldo Cortesi—one of a family of several journalists who at one time supplied a part of the world press with news slanted to favor Mussolini—who cabled from Rome:

“Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, [left for the United States] to enlist the support of President Roosevelt

and the United States Government for the anti-communist campaign the Pope has been waging for some time.

"The Holy See regards the spread of communist doctrine as the gravest and most threatening danger hanging over the world and is anxious to awaken all countries to a realization of this threat. A sympathetic attitude by the United States Government toward the Holy See's efforts in this direction would be considered most valuable by the Vatican." (*New York Times*, October 1, 1936.)

The Cardinal Pacelli referred to is now Pope Pius XII. His failure to enlist Roosevelt in any Anti-Komintern Pakt adventure was reversed a little more than a decade later, when Churchill and Truman and other Protestant leaders found they could use the Catholic Church in their own plan of a similar nature.

Neither Soviet Russia nor the new Eastern States have, as the American press reported, "attacked religion" or "abolished religion," but they have not only divorced religion from the State (following in the footsteps of Washington and Jefferson) but done it so completely that no relationship at all was left to exist. The Soviets at all times permitted religious worship but they did not exempt religious buildings from taxation. They made religion a private affair, letting people who wanted it organize institutions, pay for them, pay for preachers, pay for everything; and they decreed that not a word of a political nature could be spoken from any pulpit.

In the Eastern nations today this Russian Soviet system or "line" is not totally followed in religion any more than it is followed in land reform or in other matters, because each nation has to adapt ideas to the customs of the country; but there is no doubt whatever about the divorcement of the Church, which in every European country has been in politics and in Hungary a part of the government, from all relationships with the State.

This divorce, like civil divorce, includes a financial settlement. In the East it has meant that the Church has lost its

possessions, which consist chiefly of land, and its control of the youth of the country, because the schools have been laicized.

The Vatican could perhaps accept being stripped of its fertile fields, but it could not accept being forbidden to fertilize the minds of the millions of young people.

This is one of the main reasons it reversed its ancient policy of adapting itself to the genius of nations and declared a holy war on all those countries which really and completely separated Church from State. In this holy war it had as an ally the nation where the separation of Church and State had up to now been one of the great inheritances of the Founding Fathers.

Vatican and Labor Movement

When one uses the term "labor movement" the direction is understood to be Left. Labor has never moved in any other direction. At times it has been forced to go Right—when fascist and clerico-fascist dictators in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Portugal have attempted to establish corporate state unionism, some with and some without the blessings of the Vatican. As a general rule labor policy makers of the Roman Catholic Church have in this field, as in all politics, adjusted their plans to situation and circumstances.

The Vatican is better informed than the Foreign Office, the State Department, or the chancellories of any nation in the world. Its policies are never broken as they are in most countries; there is almost never an interruption or a reversal. Moreover, the Vatican is usually more perceptive to the changes of the spirit of the times, usually acts with great intelligence and foresight.

The Vatican was the first of all the great powers, lay and clerical, to realize that the working people of the world would be tremendously impressed by the theories of an unknown researcher then at work in the library of the British Museum. The working people of the world were then as now

the great majority of the Church's adherents and the great majority in its field of future activity. Thus, two years before Marx and Engels issued their Communist Manifesto the Vatican had already denounced a doctrine, officially unborn, but destined by the 1950's to envelop half the world.

"Communism," declared Pope Pius IX on September 11, 1846, "is completely opposed to the natural law itself, and its establishment would entail the complete destruction of all property and even human society."

"The main tenet of socialism, community of goods," was denounced by Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, as "contrary to the rights of mankind." Socialism was condemned, the legitimacy of property affirmed, and Catholic labor unions were encouraged.

More recently, with socialism and the labor unions of most of Europe (but not America) being fused as one movement, Pope Pius XI made a distinction between the revolutionary ideology of communism and the moderate methods of socialism, but in *Quadragesimo Anno*, the official declaration of the Vatican's war on the Kremlin, he concluded with this statement: "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true socialist."

The present Pope therefore is the inheritor of a policy of war on Marxism which is more than a hundred years old.

Marxism is addressed to only one class: the working class. The working class in Europe is largely Roman Catholic, and in the United States Catholics are a majority in the labor movements, some CIO unions, notably Mike Quill's transport workers in New York, being more than 90 per cent Catholic. The whole CIO, with its 7,000,000 members is about 60 per cent Catholic. It has always been inevitable, therefore, that the conflict between two powerful forces for the control of labor would be long and desperate.

Today the world is witnessing one of the great crises in this struggle: in the splits in the Western European unions, in Latin America, in the attempt by the Right to destroy the

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), and in the purge of the Left in the American and Canadian CIO.

The inspiration, if not the actual directive for this powerful attack comes from the Vatican and the American State Department. It was made possible only through the cooperation of the United States with the Vatican in winning the 1948 elections in Italy; the Marshall Plan, the promises of continual help, and the intervention of Right-wing American labor.

The first intimation that it was the Vatican policy to divide the unified labor movement of Italy which it could not rule, came about two months after the Vatican had won one of its great political victories. On June 29, 1948, the Pope at a mass audience of 30,000 in the Vatican, explained that when labor was reorganized, shortly after Mussolini fled in 1944, he gave only tentative approval to the "one big union" idea; he was opposed to the political strike; he was opposed to the whole basis of class warfare, and he intimated that if the Communists in the General Confederation of Italian Workers (CGIL) continued to make a political weapon out of strikes, the Catholic workers—meaning the Catholic party members, inasmuch as almost all Italians, in labor and elsewhere are Catholics—would secede.

The general strike in mid-July following the attempted assassination of Togliatti, the head of the Communist Party,* resulted in the leaders of the million followers of ACLI, the Catholic Party unions, announcing they would withdraw from the CGIL.

The official organ of the Vatican, *L'Osservatore Romano*, in its issue of July 23rd (dated the 24th) carried two items which were more than a coincidence. Its first column, page 1,

* The would-be murderer Antonio Pallante was described in the Left press of Rome as a part-time journalist writing for a Christian Democratic, or Catholic party newspaper. This fact was suppressed not only in the Rightist Roman papers but in those American newspapers which the present writer was able to see in Rome at the time. The attacker was also reported as having a copy of *Mein Kampf* in his knapsack, but this revealing fact was also suppressed.

is always devoted to the list of the Pope's visitors and this day it read:

La Santita de Nostro Signor has ricevuto in private Udienze . . . il Signor David Dubinsky, con la Consorte; il Signor Luigi Antonini, e Consorte; il Signor Irving Brown; il Signor J. Lovestone; il Signor Procopio, e Figlia e la Signora Tina Catania.

On an inside page the *Osservatore* published an item with the following headline:

LA CRISI DELLA C.G.I.L.

Sindicalisti cristiani e socialdemocratici per un nuovo ordinamento sindacale

That evening at the Casa della Stampa Esteri, the foreign press club in Via della Mercede, the American correspondents discussed the part the American labor delegation played in helping the Vatican with its plan to split the Italian labor movement. They also referred to the part played by the American Ambassador, John Clement Dunn, when he conducted the campaign in April for the election of the Catholic-Socialist bloc. The American labor delegation was known to have given not only moral support but a large sum of money to finance the Catholic labor union when it pulled out of the general federation.

The American press, true to its unbroken (venal) tradition of suppressing the news which the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church might object to, did not publish the cause of the break in Italian labor. Mario Rossi reported in *The Nation* (September 11th) that the ACLI was "under the control of Catholic Action, the Pope's powerful 'lay army' which exists, supposedly for 'cultural purposes.'" Under the Lateran Pact, signed by Pius XI and Mussolini and still in force, Catholic Action is expressly forbidden to take part in politics. But it was the national Civic Committees directed by Luigi Gedda, head of Italian Men's Catholic Action, which conducted the 1948 election campaign and it is Catholic

Action which now directs the labor unions adhering to the Vatican.

The Vatican plan in Italy to split the united labor front, establish Catholic unions, or a new labor front which it can direct or influence, applies to every country in which the Church is powerful. In Latin America the program is as obvious as it is in Italy. There the attack centers on the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL) which claims to have a membership of some 5,000,000.

The Vatican movement became apparent during the Second Inter-American Seminar of Social Studies in Havana which was held for the purpose of combatting "atheistic communism." A large part of its time was devoted to discussing the labor movement and planning a substitute for the CTAL.

A Chilean bishop, numerous priests, lay leaders of Catholic Action of Latin America, spoke not only against Soviet Russia and the Eastern nations but against the WFTU and "radical" labor unionism—which favored socialization and opposed the private profit motive.

In France the Catholic and socialist unions split away from the CGT at the time the West and East split in politics, but this new coalition, Christian Workers Labor Federation (CFTC) and Force Ouvriere (Workers Strength), have had difficult going inasmuch as they have had to oppose not only the strike calls of the CGT but just demands for increases in wages to meet the raging inflation and the resulting increases in the price of food and clothing. They also had to apologize for the use of violence by the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Moch, in the coal miners' strike of 1948. Moreover, many Catholic workers, veterans of the Resistance movement which fought the Nazis, could not stomach the anti-CGT admonitions of Cardinal Suhard, who during the Nazi occupation urged obedience in his pastoral letters and approved of Frenchmen going to Germany to work on munitions. These Catholics belong to the Progressive Christians Union and in many instances cooperate with the CGT.

In Great Britain, as in the United States, the war between the Vatican and the Kremlin has always been a one-sided affair: in both countries the attack has been continual from the Vatican side, but the Communist leaders and newspapers, knowing that a large number—a good majority in America—of the working people in the unions are Catholics, have almost never attacked the political and labor policies of the Vatican, never once criticized the Catholic Church.

Quite a sensation therefore was created in the labor movement in England when the conservative London *Times* published the following 2-paragraph news item on June 16, 1948:

CATHOLIC TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION

Mr. H. Pollitt's Criticism

Speaking at Wembley last night Mr. Harry Pollitt said that the Communist Party believed that the use of religion as a cover for interference in political and industrial matters was wrong and must be condemned by every section of the working class movement, including those workers who held religious beliefs. The party therefore considered it necessary to call the attention of the Labour movement to the activities of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which was seeking to organize Catholic members of trade unions, Co-operative Societies, and Labour parties and to influence the decisions of those bodies.

The Communist Party believed that Catholic workers would resent the attempts made by the Catholic hierarchy to dictate to them on industrial, social and political matters, and especially the attempts to interfere in the affairs of the organizations of which they were members. The Vatican was conducting a ceaseless campaign against the Soviet Union and the new democracies of eastern Europe. Its campaign against communism, which everywhere gave the fullest liberties to Catholics to practice their religion, was the result of its support for the leading landowning and capitalist classes, with which its own leading figures were associated.

The *Catholic Herald* of London on June 18th published a 4-paragraph item, the first three fairly quoting Pollitt, the fourth stating:

His attempt at making his listeners' flesh creep at the sinister clergy and their dupes, was made difficult, however, by the fact that Wembley has one of the best Catholic lay organizations in the country. And to make matters worse, the man who has earned the nickname of the most popular man in Wembley happens to be Fr. Lowe, a Catholic priest.

That was all. But in the same issue of the *Catholic Herald* there were two big stories, each with a 3-column head, the first announcing that Cardinal Griffin had "launched the new Association of Catholic Employers"; the second was headlined: "The Cardinal Calls for Co-operation Between Employers and Workers." The Cardinal pointed out that in Catholic countries there were Catholic trade unions but not in England; the ACTU was an organization "for Catholics who are members of the trades unions." The Cardinal opposed a trade union movement "used as a means of causing ill-will between classes," proposed not only cooperation between workers and the new Catholic employers association, but workers having a representative on boards of directors.

In the United States the press for about a decade and a half has been in the service of big business, notably General Motors and others in the automobile industry, in fighting the Communist influence in the labor movement and most notably in the CIO. The newspapers have denounced the entire CIO as a Kremlin agency, and the most notorious members of Congress, the Hoffmans and the Rankins, safe from libel suits behind the iron curtain of congressional immunity, have indulged in character assassination in their attacks on the CIO. In all these years, however, the American press (with the usual one or two per cent exceptions) has never attacked and never mentioned the parallel influence, pressures and activities of the Vatican in the American labor movement.

The Communists made great headway following the successful strikes of the mid-1930's. But in the mid-1940's there was already evidence that the newly organized American ACTU was having some success. In fact, whenever the Catho-

lic spokesmen at such conventions as that of the CIO made their usual demands for the outlawing of the Communists, the result was a compromise resolution directed against all (unnamed) elements, political or religious, which would include both the Kremlin and the Vatican.

In the later 1940's however the great red-baiting witch-hunt of the time was used by the ACTU and other Catholic leaders in labor to undermine, if not destroy, the influence of their chief rivals, the Communist leaders. By mid-summer 1949 there had been a purge of almost the entire Left-wing element in the CIO. (The AFL had always been a Right-wing association.)

The ACTU had been organized in 1944. At its third convention, July 4-6, 1947, it became a national organization. At that time it had powerful opponents. Dan Tobin of the Teamsters union "roared" his answer: "Opposed to it? Unequivocally opposed! I was born and raised a Catholic. I've tried to live by my religion and bring up my six children in the Faith. But a labor movement divided along religious lines cannot survive. We've got history to go by. It was the Catholic unions in Germany which split that mighty German workers' movement and made things easy for Hitler with the bosses' money in his jeans. I'm not going to let misguided people of my own faith do that here—not when we face the attack we're facing today."

And now let James Higgins, a worker, writer, and labor editor, who got the interview with Tobin, make his report two years later (*New Republic*, March 7, 1949):

Well over a year ago you published an article of mine which sketched the rise of the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the CIO. . .

What I said—and what was denied by the (CIO) letter writers—was: that the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, by reason of its direction of the "anti-communist" campaign in the CIO unions, would soon become the most powerful force inside the CIO; that CIO ruling circles were dominated by Catholic personalities and thought; that principle non-communists would wake up to find themselves actual agents of the Church in labor;

that the conflict in the CIO between the philosophy of "class struggle" affirmed by communists and that of "class collaboration" which is official Catholic doctrine, was, no doubt, a part of the worldwide war between the Vatican and the Kremlin. . .

The Catholic Church has now won all its major objectives in the CIO with the exception of the United Electrical Workers . . . I am amazed that no liberal journal has cared to follow in the past year the progress of the ACTU. Nor has any magazine, to my knowledge, examined the theoretical and practical principles of the Catholic Church as they relate to the labor movement. . .

Not only did no liberal journal nor any magazine touch on the matter but it was strictly tabu in the American newspaper press. Communism, the left unions, the "reds," were still attacked all along the line, but never a word was printed about the Vatican, the Roman Catholic Church, and the ACTU in their efforts to capture half the American labor movement, the CIO.

The final and perhaps most important split in the labor movement fostered by the Marshall Plan countries under the inspiration of the State Department and the Vatican, occurred in the World Federation of Trade Unions which was created in London in October 1945 "as a symbol of the high hopes of the free people who had fought together against fascist aggression," as Gordon Schaffer, socialist associate editor of *Reynolds News* (the weekly of the 9,000,000 British cooperators) put it. At the time of the split, in January 1949, the WFTU had an affiliation of 70,000,000 men and women, all races, all colors, all religions, all nationalities. James B. Carey of the CIO, Arthur Deakin of the British Trades Union Congress and Kupers of the Dutch unions withdrew their memberships, a total 16,000,000.

From its very first day the WFTU had 27,000,000 Soviet Russian members, citizens of a communist state although the majority were not Communists. (The union total is many times the number of members of the party in the U.S.S.R. itself.) There was never any question that a large number, although not necessarily a majority of the WFTU, being

Marxist-dominated unions, were communist and socialist. The aims stated in 1945, unanimously approved and incorporated in the constitution, included:

“To combat war and the causes of war and work for a stable and enduring peace; to organize the struggle of unions in all countries against encroachments on the economic and social rights of the workers and democratic liberties (and) for security and full employment.

“To imbue the working people with the spirit of international solidarity and labor unity in the struggle for the speediest and most complete eradication of the remnants of fascism; to strengthen trade union unity and resolutely to combat all those who might attempt to disrupt this unity and to weaken or divide the forces of the working people.” Obviously many of these phrases are Marxist.

Among the enthusiastic endorsers of WFTU was Carey of the CIO, who said it was “the consummation of the dearest wishes” of President Murray, and who promised full cooperation, the assumption of “full responsibility to our own members and the workers of the world.”

The WFTU engaged in activities expected of it. It protested the oppression of labor in fascist Spain, Greece, and Portugal; it protested oppression of people in China, India, Iran, Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, and Ceylon. It protested the attacks on labor and the Left in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina. It asked unions throughout the world to mobilize public opinion against the Taft-Hartley law in the United States. It asked for representation in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. “These actions were broader and more universal than any in the world labor history of the past,” stated Israel Epstein in his weekly column distributed by Allied Labor News.

However, in 1948 the British and American branches of WFTU preferred to follow the Marshall Plan, the State Department, and the Vatican policy rather than continue the WFTU policy. Conflict with the East began. The Soviet trades union president, Kuznetzov, offered Carey a compro-

mise, which concluded with these words: "Unions cannot be forbidden to vote either for or against the Marshall Plan without undermining trade union unity." In May 1948, at the executive meeting in Rome, the WFTU was saved by a compromise.

But when later, the CIO and the TUC demanded that the world labor body "suspend its activities" for a year because of the strained international political situation, it was nothing less than an ultimatum which could not be accepted. The United States delegate at the UN, Leroy Stinebower, attacked the WFTU as "a communist tool."

Concluded Gordon Schaffer (in *Reynolds News*):

This is a tragic moment in the long history of the international trade union movement. The only people who will rejoice will be the reactionaries everywhere who have consistently blocked every effort by the World Federation to secure adequate representation for the organised workers at the United Nations, who have resisted the efforts of the World Federation to champion the rights of the oppressed colonial peoples, who have hidden from public opinion the devastating reports produced by the Federation about conditions in Greece, in American occupied Korea and in Western Germany.

This is a triumph for Mr. Irving Brown, the mysterious emissary of the American Federation of Labour who, backed with American money, has been busy organising splits among the trade unionists of France, Germany, Italy and other countries. It will mean that the hope of building an all-German trade union movement to play a full part in ending Fascism in Germany and building a free democratic country, has been temporarily destroyed. It will give a severe setback to genuine trade union development in Japan, where we shall probably see the creation of a Right Wing movement organised as a subsidiary to the MacArthur administration. In the countries of the West, the divisions between the working class will be intensified.

But the American press, aligned with the National Association of Manufacturers for fifty years in fighting the labor movement, was delighted with the event. The Hearst, Howard, McCormick, Patterson press were joined by the *New York Times*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and every reaction-

ary publication in the country in approving the maneuvers of the AFL and CIO leaders which resulted in the first split in the first organized international labor movement.

The CIO officially left the WFTU by an executive board vote on May 18, 1949. This was just eleven months after the Pope told the mass meeting of Catholic workers in Rome his approval of the "one big union" idea had been only tentative and that the Catholic wing of the unified Italian labor movement would secede if unions engaged in political strikes, class warfare, and other radical activities.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CONCLUSION: THE PEOPLE DON'T KNOW

This volume and this author agree with Dr. Geroid T. Robinson who said that “Never did so many know so little about so much.”

Dr. Robinson, onetime member of the great secret Office of Strategic Services (OSS), made this remark in his address on “Education for Better Understanding” at the conservative *Herald Tribune* 1945 Forum. He was referring at the moment to “all the American misunderstandings of Russia.” Curiously enough, two years later when the “preventive war” crowd was riding high and William Christian (sic) Bullitt was screaming madly for the use of the atom bomb to destroy Russian civilians—“atomize the Russians” was the battlecry—and the Churchill policy of “containment” of ideas (as well as nations) had become the paramount policy of the Truman administration, a survey made by Princeton University showed that 38,000,000 Americans of voting age “don’t know at all what kind of a government Russia has” (William L. Shirer, *Herald Tribune*, February 23, 1947).

The Robinson strictures can be applied not only to Russia and the Eastern nations—against which the West, and most notably the United States has hung not an iron but a news-

paper curtain of suppression and silence—but also to China and all of Asia; in fact to most of the world.

Defenders of the press, the medium which should have prevented this deplorable state of affairs, like to shift the blame on the people themselves. People get the government they deserve; people get the newspaper press they deserve. Or want. The people do not want to be informed, they want to be amused, and that is why they spend fifteen hours listening to the comic programs on the radio for each hour they spend listening to news broadcasts or any sort of educational program. Moreover, the survey of a town by the American Newspaper Publishers Association revealed 82 per cent of the men and 70 per cent of the women reading the comic strip "Dick Tracy" while only 28 per cent of the men and 25 per cent of the women read "even one paragraph of the most important news story that day," according to Dr. Gallup (*National Municipal Review*, December 1947). Among other amazing (and frightening) discoveries by the Gallup Poll (on nonpolitical, noncontroversial questions) was the fact that at least a quarter of the American people were unable to locate any one of the Eastern nations on the map. People of voting age only were asked. Thirteen per cent, one in eight, knew where Bulgaria was, 17 per cent could locate Rumania, 18 per cent Hungary, 22 per cent Yugoslavia, and 25 per cent Czechoslovakia. This at a time 99 per cent of the press, to be conservative, was attacking these nations as "satellites" of Russia!

Of course our educational system is also to blame. It fails in arousing an interest in knowledge, to make education itself something greatly to be desired. It turns out millions of high school and college graduates who prefer Dick Tracy and Blondie to information about the Marshall Plan—whose purpose could be stated by only 25 per cent of "a representative group of citizens from coast to coast" interviewed by the Gallup organization November 1, 1947.

The people of many countries do not know what is going on in the world and little, if anything, about social, economic, and political forces, causes, and pressures.

The Western world does not even know that one of its most powerful leaders, Churchill, dipped into the propaganda cesspool of Nazi journalism and came up with the phrase by which it belittles and attacks the Eastern world, the phrase "iron curtain," which implies secrecy and ignorance.

On the other hand, the Eastern world reads every day about the troubles and disgraces of its rival—the economic recessions, the impending collapse of the economic system, the injustices, witch-hunts, crimes of violence, and the lynchings in Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia.

The Western world likewise reads about the troubles and disgraces of its rival—the economic failures in the planned economies and impending collapse; religious persecution, the denials of civil liberties.

But one of the great differences between East and West is the functioning of the most powerful agency for information—and misinformation—the controlled press of the East and the free press of the West.

The East does not permit the kind of freedom which the press of the United States advocates: the total freedom of the owner and publisher to make of his newspaper an organ of reaction, to be entirely irresponsible, to use free enterprise for his personal gain—financial, political or otherwise—and to fail in all his social obligations, as the Commission on Freedom of the Press brilliantly pointed out. Leaders of the East look upon the press as a part of its system of government, an organ of the body politic, a means to an end, and say so frankly and honestly. The East claims this is good for the nation—it makes no hypocritical pretense at "freedom of the press" which means unbridled freedom for the private owners of the press (and their interests) and no one else.

Ten Important Facts, Trends

There is also the important matter of states of mind, of attitudes. What should be the relationship of the editor and publisher (and other manipulators of public opinion) to the

events which make up the history of the cold war? The truth was admitted by C. D. Jackson of *Time* magazine, who in his contribution to the book, *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*, edited by Lester Markel of the *Times*, supplied the chapter, "Assignment for the Press," in which he stated (on page 180):

"In this book it has already been argued—and it is hoped, demonstrated—that in the cold war of words all our deeds abroad, all our writings, all our publications, all our expressions of thought must be weighed according to their propaganda impact."

The vice-president of *Time* does not say that our deeds, our writings, our publications, must consist of propaganda as some persons have interpreted it, but that we must at all times be conscious of the propaganda value of what we do, say, and publish. But who can doubt that with this consciousness of effect the American newspaper and magazine press (and the radio and other means of making public opinion) have already done their part in the cold war not only by an attitude, a prejudgment of cause and effect, but by actually manipulating facts, news documentation, happenings, interviews, speeches, and other actions and expressions, for propaganda purposes. When we weigh our writings and publications "according to their propaganda impact" we are no longer engaged in the business of the free press.

In reviewing the volume to which Messrs. Markel and Jackson contributed, Edwin D. Canham suggested that in his inaugural address President Truman should have added a fifth point to his four for world economic recovery: "one without which the other four cannot hope to succeed. The fifth point is the adequate informing of public opinion at home and abroad."

Mr. Canham, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, one of the very few newspapers of our country generally placed on an honor roll, admits that "there are large areas of

ignorance of policy at home, and great misunderstanding and suspicion abroad."

There is no place in this volume for the misunderstandings and suspicion abroad, although it might be said in passing that the Voice of America, so proudly hailed in Congress and blessed with so many millions, is not regarded in Europe as following the code of ethics laid down by Elmer Davis when he operated the OWI: it is accused not of voicing propaganda daily, which it does, but of frequent falsehoods and distortions, whereas the OWI by Davis's order adhered to strict truth as a weapon in foreign affairs.

As for the "adequate informing of public opinion at home," on matters abroad, the present writer would like to offer a challenge to the experts who contributed to the Markel volume and to all editors and publishers.

The challenge consists of the following ten statements, some of which include the most important facts about the European world today as they affect the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness of the American people, and some of which include the most important trends which are equally worthy of space, perhaps even front page space, in our sky-vaunted free press. Some of these statements were put in the form of questions in the introduction to this volume, and some of them have been answered in the text.

1. *The entire world has moved to the Left*—part Socialist, part Communist, part just Left. The Right, all the way from conservative to fascist, has been defeated almost everywhere. The status quo and reactionary countries, such as Italy and France, Portugal and Greece, are merely held to the Right by American money and pressure, will go Leftward when these forces diminish or cease. Nothing is more important in history than this Leftward trend of the world (including Asia and Africa) and almost nothing is written about it because it is contrary to the American status quo policy (overwhelmingly approved by the American people in several Gallup polls, and endorsed by almost all our editors

and publishers despite their public editorial policy of "progressiveness").

2. *There will not be a war*, or there will not be a successful war for the West because the West has no allies in Europe. Because no one will fight in Europe. Because the labor unions will oppose war from any side and there will be civil wars, or revolts, or sitdown strikes or general strikes in almost every nation of the European Western bloc if war is declared.

3. *Nothing can buy friends or allies*. The Marshall Plan has not made friends or allies. It has checked the Left temporarily in such countries as Italy, France, and Greece, subsidizing or "freezing" reaction, the status quo, or even a form of fascism.

4. *The Marshall Plan has not been a great success* from the American viewpoint either. Where it has insisted on influencing the economy of a foreign country, such as Belgium, it has supplied goods rather than raw materials, thereby making workers idle, causing unrest, promising future trouble. By blockading the East it has done more to slow up European recovery than any other action.

5. *The great success of the planned economy bloc*, the Eastern nations, which have not had Marshall Plan aid, is one of the great (unwritten and unpublished) news stories of our time. Poland and other nations have surpassed pre-war production, Italy and other Marshall nations have not done so well despite the millions poured into them.

6. Not only the planned economy of European nations, but *the mutualizing of national economies*, discussed in Chapter 14, is also beginning to change the face of the world.

7. *The standard of living*, a great test for civilization, is rising under the socialist system of Great Britain and under the planned systems of all Eastern nations. The standard of living to Marshal Tito, Matyas Rakosi and other Eastern leaders also means culture, and culture begins with the elimination of illiteracy. More has been done in three or four years of the new regimes than in a century of reactionary

regimes. The people of the planned economies buy and read more books per person than Americans.

8. *The majority of the people of every Eastern country*, that is, the industrial worker and the farmer, has been favored by the new regimes; most of them are better off than under the old regimes and all of them will be far ahead of their fathers' generation and eventually far ahead of the citizens of all other countries of Europe upon the completion of the various second and third plans—most of the first plans have been fulfilled and there is every reason to believe the present ones will succeed.

9. The American press campaign and the demarche made in the United Nations by certain countries including those whose regimes are pseudo-fascist if not purely fascist, charging Eastern nations with *religious persecution* is based on falsehood. The truth is that all the news stories which make the American front pages indicate a conflict—the separation of Church and State; real, total separation, even more complete than in the American system. If the Churches of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries confined themselves to preaching the Gospels there would be no conflict.

10. *The Vatican* is engaged in one of the greatest political battles of its existence. Always dedicated to the preservation of the status quo, when not actually reactionary, the Vatican realized years ago that the world has changed and that the crisis it faces today is greater than that of the Reformation—greater than any crisis in ancient or modern history. The Vatican therefore is engaged in the cold war with the Kremlin—at times it leads, at times it tells Britain and the United States and of course all its Catholic satellite nations what to do; but at times it reverts to the old policy of adapting itself and making compromises with the Kremlin. Some journalists in Rome foresee the Vatican itself adopting a new course distinctly to the Left. The July 1949 excommunication of Communists indicates otherwise. But the main fact is the tremendous activity of the Vatican in European and Ameri-

can politics, education, the labor movement, and all important nonreligious matters.

And besides these ten journalistic subjects for reporting and documentation I would like to offer another, an intangible, psychological, and philosophical subject for other hands: it is the release not only of the creative forces of the people of many countries, but, as Tito put it, the release of the genius of the people. This has followed the defeat of fascism and the institution of new types of governments. It may not be a front page news story but it is the greatest thing that has happened in Europe since the war.

Dependence on British Foreign Office

Another subject of discussion among Americans abroad and therefore one worthy of investigation, is the long history of the State Department's dependence upon the British Foreign Office in the making of American foreign policies, and the long history of the influence of the Catholic minority in shaping British policies.

It is true that at one time the Anglophobe Hearst used to rail about the first point of this situation—America's subservience to Britain in politics, but Hearst naturally would never print a word of criticism of Vatican influence and pressures in either British or American political affairs, inasmuch as he and his newspapers are in fact part of the Vatican propaganda machinery.

British foreign policy is largely directed and controlled by the permanent staff of the F.O., a large part of which owes an ultra-national allegiance to a foreign state—namely, the Stato Vaticano.

This is known to be a fact by every American journalist in London, but none (to my knowledge) has ever reported it. The reason for silence is too obvious. It is considered a "controversial" and a "religious" matter, and both are tabu in the newspapers of the United States.

The sudden change of the American foreign policy on the

fascist rebellion against the democratic Republic of Spain was made in accordance with the policy of the British Foreign Office. Both our State Department and our press in July 1936 were for the Loyalists, the officially recognized democracy which despite all fascist corruption had succeeded in winning a majority of the voters and establishing a democratic regime.

British diplomacy killed the Republic through one of the most hypocritical gestures in modern world history: the fraudulent policy of nonintervention which stopped Russia, France, and Mexico from sending more than token supplies, and Russia from sending troops (although the falsifying press continues to report that it did) while all fascist nations, notably Germany, Italy, and Portugal were permitted to send 100,000 infantry, air squadrons, even submarines and battleships. (Years later President Roosevelt told a delegation of the American Youth Congress that he had been misinformed, had made a mistake in changing United States policy.)

The Foreign Office policy—nonintervention as a means of permitting fascism to destroy a democracy—was made by the Catholic element of the permanent staff. One of its members at the time—he resigned in 1937—was Charles Duff, expert on Spain, linguist, and author.

In 1936, by an actual count of policy-making officials, the Catholic element in the Foreign Office of Britain, a nation with a comparatively small Catholic minority, was 41 per cent. It included Lord Vansittart, the permanent Under-Secretary of State, and Sir, later Lord, Tyrrell. Ivor Kirkpatrick, who dealt with German affairs and was liaison man for the F.O., British Broadcasting Corporation, the Central Office of Information and M.I.-5 (secret service, Scotland Yard). According to a statement made to the present writer by Mr. Duff in 1948 the new editor of the *London Times*, and the editor of the *Times Literary Supplement*, are Catholics, and between the two of them they influence a considerable part of British public opinion.

For consultation on British policy on Spain during the fascist uprising the F.O. called in Monsignor Jackman. He acted on Vatican directives, and between him and the Catholic 41 per cent of the permanent staff, they were able to write the British policy which almost immediately became the American policy, and which resulted in the destruction of the Republic.

The Roman Catholics in the British Foreign Office were defenders of their faith. According to Mr. Duff they were powerfully instrumental in shaping a British policy—which in turn was taken over by our State Department—which followed the directives of a tiny nation known as the Vatican State.

Editorial Note: "Eppur si Muove!"

The present writer does not believe in dispensing editorial opinion. "Let the facts speak for themselves," the Euripidean admonition, seems good enough today to be the one and only guide for the making of a truly free press. If the facts were left to speak for themselves it is understood that they would be presented honestly, that the facts on both sides would be given, that there would be no attempt, as at present, to choose facts which the editor agrees with and suppress the others, or to engage in any one or more of the thousand ways of manipulating facts, only a few of which could be illustrated in this volume.

It is one of the tragic ironies of our time that the one chain press exposed from 1914 on, as given to presenting considerable falsehood, the Hearst newspapers, place the word "TRUTH" in capital letters at the top of their editorial pages, and that the Hearst rivals in yellow journalism, the Scripps-Howard 19, place on their masthead the quotation: "Give light and the people will find their own way."

The one and only function of a newspaper should be to publish the news. This is possible. At times it has been done.

In the old pre-Hitler days the owner of the *Frankfurter*

Zeitung, Sonneman, despite his connection with great corporate interests such as I.G. Farben, hired a staff to publish an honest newspaper. The political editors of this journal were the representatives of the political divisions of the nation; they included members of the Centrum (Catholic) Party, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and the Nazi Party. Inasmuch as they had to follow only one directive—to publish the news—this editorial board, despite its inclusion of warring editors and ideologies—was able to produce a newspaper which was almost unique in the world for its objective presentation of the news.

Historically, the American press has never been for the general welfare. In the 1850's only one New York newspaper, the *Evening Post*, was Abolitionist. The *Tribune* opposed slavery. Other journals either condoned or supported it, and published many and weighty editorial arguments aimed to soothe the conscience of slaveholders and others who lived on human misery. Throughout the hundred-odd years of the industrial revolution the American press was on the side of the small minority, the employers, and opposed to the great majority, the industrial workers. The 12-hour day at \$1 a day was upheld before the Civil War, and the 10-hour day afterwards. It was the hysteria created by the press which was largely responsible for the Haymarket bombing in Chicago, the newspapers of that city being all engaged in fighting the movement for the 8-hour day.

And more recently the press (with of course the usual exceptions, the small percentage of pro bono publico papers like the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*) fought the TVA more bitterly than they still fight the MVA and CVA and other vast projects which might harm the private power and light corporations. Every American knows that the American press, 85 to 95 per cent strong, fought not only FDR but the New Deal and later the Truman Fair Deal, notably those parts of it which the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce and other business interests have marked for destruction. Throughout our his-

tory the press lined up 90 to 99 per cent against such general welfare measures as government operation of power and light and government attack on the impure food and bad medicine makers. Every bill for the public which involved profits, even when those profits came from fake tuberculosis and cancer cures, was opposed by the majority of American newspapers.

The American press opposes the general welfare of the American people and it opposes those who devote their lives for the same cause in other lands. Thus the vast propaganda machine which our editors and publishers control, is set in motion time and again, frequently with recourse to religious hysteria, against all the rulers of the Eastern nations of Europe who—whether we like their ideology or not—have obeyed the American democratic ideal of the greatest good for the greatest number, the farmers and the industrial workers. Both Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia and Matyas Rakosi in Hungary, to give examples on the opposite sides of the Cominform rift, have given land to the farmers, and through the nationalization of industry, have provided a better living for the industrial workers. It is true that certain people have suffered—certainly the owner of a vast steel plant has reason for anger—but the millions are better off, and the fact (suppressed in our press) that the Eastern nations have surpassed production and the pre-war standard of living in three heart-breaking years of reconstruction is the best proof. Tito, Rakosi, all the other heads of the so-called “satellite” nations have raised the general welfare of the majority of people. None has stolen a billion dollars—as the Kung-Soong-Chen-Chiang Kai-shek clique has done. None has taken a cent for himself as Hitler and Mussolini and Franco and all the fascists have done. But because they have attacked the most sacred of all the golden idols of the American press, the money or profit system, they have been universally attacked, vilified, and of course lied about in morning and night editions, year after year.

The result, as expressed by American experts on public

opinion and agreed on by even some editors, is that despite our great educational system and despite our free press we are among the most misinformed people of the world.

The reader who at this late moment expects the writer to conclude his 300 pages of facts, illustrations, and documentation with editorial suggestions on how all the wrongs complained of can be righted will have to be disappointed. Everything that can be said on this subject has been said. The Commission on Freedom of the Press has spent \$200,000, it has published many volumes, it has had the services of philosophers and libertarians, and it has produced a set of answers: "What can be done through government?"—5 items; "What can be done by the press?"—5 items; "What can be done by the public?"—3 items; the last and very important one ("We recommend the establishment of a new and independent agency to appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press") is divided into 10 parts. Part 5 declared: "Investigation of instances of press lying, with particular reference to persistent misrepresentation of the data required for judging public issues."

All the answers are known.

In fact, all the answers to every book of this sort—whether it deals with the press or politics, or with any phase of human endeavor and behavior as it affects the lives and affairs of other people—have already been written. A few modern technicalities can always be added, but none as important as the suggestions made on Mt. Sinai or in the Sermon on the Mount. We shall have a free—meaning honest—press in America when we have 1750 editors and publishers of daily newspapers godlike enough to do what the vast majority of people of all faiths and lands have always acknowledged to be their golden rule of life, but never in all history followed. One would be naive indeed to expect the Hearst or Howard outfit to take the lead.

The only note of optimism derives from the fact that the world does move. *Eppur si muove!* For Galileo it moved in circles; for us the well-known circular world moves in a

direction, and that direction is Left, the direction where the greatest good for the greatest number is the political, social, and economic goal, as it was for Jefferson and all who believe in the "general welfare." The world does move in the direction of the general welfare. It moves everywhere except in fascist countries, and fascism cannot last. It moves in Britain under the Labour Party, it moves in Yugoslavia under a system the Cominform attacks and it moves in other Eastern lands under a system the Cominform approves. It moves in China and throughout the entire East. There have been moments when it has moved in the Vatican. It moves in the United States under the Fair Deal, and it moves in certain Latin American countries faster than in others. It moves in all European countries, no matter if the regime is a Catholic Party coalition, a Right coalition, a Left coalition, or even a monarcho-fascist coalition as in Greece. Underneath the Marshall Plan dollars there is a movement which this weight of gold cannot stop from going liberal, democratic, or Left.

Nothing can stop the progress of an informed people. Even the American newspaper publishers proclaim this slogan. But nothing can stop the progress of any people, and although the American press will not inform the American people, the world will continue to progress nevertheless. The era of the New Deal was an era of great progress toward the Constitutional idea of the general welfare. It was achieved despite the press, despite the opposition of almost the entire press. We shall continue to make great progress despite the press. There is reason for impatience; but no cause for despondency.

APPENDIX 1

F.D.R. AND THE UNITED PRESS

[On July 13 1939 the following statement was issued:]

The White House

July 13, 1939

The reading public is entitled to a statement from the President—a statement of warning which has been made necessary by a news story issued through the United Press today and already printed in one or more papers and on the United Press ticker service. . . .

The United Press has been guilty of a falsification of the actual facts. If called upon to give the source of the information they will decline to give it—another usual subterfuge.

The fact remains that the story is contrary to every fact.

I am calling this to the attention of the public because it represents a culmination of other false news stories to which the attention of the United Press has been called by me and by my office on previous occasions.

It is of course impossible for the White House to deny every false story. This latest episode, however, represents the limit of any decent person's patience, and I am giving this in the form of a statement relating specifically to the United Press because I do not wish it to be considered as an indictment of the newspapers of the United States or other press associations. . . .

This is the truth, and it is a great pity that this simple truth of which the press has been informed has been disregarded by a press association.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

APPENDIX 2

ONE HONEST VOICE FROM ITALY

(NOTE: The following radio broadcast told a story contrary to the thousands of news dispatches concerning the 1948 Italian elections. Its truthfulness was confirmed in Rome that summer by the present writer.)

"The Italian Elections of 1948," Rome Broadcast by Howard K. Smith, CBS, April 18, 1948.

The tide has been dramatically turned by a sequence of events that is worth recounting.

First—The non-Communist parties, hitherto divided, entered into a tacit alliance. They dropped all attempts at positive platforms and adopted a common, negative program of anti-communism.

The non-Communists control 81 percent, more than four-fifths, of Italy's press. The Communists have around 18 percent, or less than one-fifth. With that enormous preponderance of word power, concentrated on a single policy, the non-Communists have gradually beaten dents into the reds' armor.

The second thing that happened is—Italy's industrially wealthy have at last reentered politics. Hitherto, since the war, Italian industrialists have kept out of the political arena.

Somewhat tainted by their vast contacts with fascism, they have preferred to have as little said about them as possible in public. Awakened at last to the Communist threat, however, they recently reentered politics and began financing the non-Communist parties on a large scale.

A survey made by the American news agency, the United Press, has shown that for every dollar the Communists have spent on press posters, loud-speakers, and general election expenses, in the campaign, the Government party, the Christian Democrats, has spent four dollars. All the anti-Communist parties together have spent \$7.50 to every Communist dollar, the survey showed.

The third thing was the Vatican joined the battle. The Catholic Church, with the Vatican at its feet, owns the religious allegiance of 98 percent of the Italian people. It is a force of immeasurable power. Its policy, through the period of fascism and the postwar period, has been one, largely, of non-intervention in Italian politics.

About a month ago, the Vatican dropped that policy and entered politics as a bipartisan of the anti-Communists. The opening salvo of the Vatican campaign was fired, significantly, by Cardinal Schuster of this city, Milan, a little over a month ago. Cardinal Schuster publicly announced that absolution would be refused to Italians who aided, or voted for, the reds.

The Pope followed with a similar public threat. Since then, every parish priest throughout the country has reenforced this strong message to tens of millions of Italian voters.

The fourth, and most important, factor of all that has caused the changing of the tide of the Italian election has been the frank, open entrance of the United States into the campaign for Italy.

Our opening salvo, like most of these other developments, occurred a little over a month ago.

It was the dramatic proposal that Trieste be returned to Italy. The effect of that proposal on sentimental Italians probably marked the beginning of the turning of the tide.

Since then, not a day has passed without the non-Communist majority of the press adding a new, effective American gesture to put into their headlines.

Badly-needed gifts of merchant ships have been made by America to Italy. Gold, looted from Italy by the Nazis, has been returned by America. The first Marshall aid ships have arrived and been unloaded amid ceremony and speeches . . .

Italians who were Communists have been officially denied that dream of many Italians, the possibility of emigration to America. New American and British warships have anchored off the Italian coast . . .

This outline of the main factors that have influenced today's elections gives rise to a frightening hypothesis. Suppose . . . suppose that the access of both sides to the press in the campaign had been equal. Suppose the election funds had been approximately equal.

Suppose that the most powerful religious institution and the most powerful and richest nation on earth had not intervened on one side in the elections. There is no doubt in anybody's mind here that the reds would have dealt the democratic government a crushing defeat.

By free choice, the Italian people in that case would have chosen communism over democracy without a Russian soldier or a Kremlin kopek around to induce or force them.

The dread, unsavory truth that the Italian elections convey is this: The Democratic Italian government has thus far so failed in governing for the whole people that the underprivileged majority would have, had cases been presented equally, gone Communist. It's important to learn the lesson implied in the Italian elections now for Italy may not be an isolated case.

Our national resources are greater, but they are not great enough continually to prop up governments that rule only for the propertied-half of their people.

APPENDIX 3

PROF. CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL ON THE PRESS AND WAR- MONGERING

(NOTE: The following extract, dealing with warmongering, is taken from an address, "Education for Journalism," delivered by the professor of journalism, Medill School of Journalism, May 1, 1948, at the Newspaper Week and anniversary celebration, College of Journalism, University of Colorado.)

When the story of this period is told I have no doubt the role of the press, and of other media of communication, including radio and news-magazines, will receive considerable attention. Editorial writers can echo the occasional soft words of statesmen calling for calmness and warning against hysteria, but the biggest headlines and most space go to stories which tend to increase that hysteria. Headline writers, of course, thrive on stories of conflict—in crime, domestic relations, local and international politics. Certainly it would be inexcusable scapegoating to blame sensational journalism for the sad state of the world today, but it is not unfair to upbraid the press for its avidity to exaggerate and distort absolutely every difference of opinion between this nation and the Soviet Union or between any other two countries.

The mere suggestion that it might be possible to work out our problems without resort to force, to restore the Big Three unity which won the war and to build the United Nations into the agency for peace we all hoped and expected it to be, is enough to cause one to be called a Communist, or at best a deluded fellow traveler, hoodwinked by Stalin's little helpers who presumably are everywhere, even though you and I never may have seen any of them.

Unless we can ignore all of the warnings of our atomic scientists who for three years have been eating their hearts out trying to tell us that another war would mean the destruction of western civilization, a peaceful way out must be found. The American press as a whole is not helping us find that way. Instead, the majority of American newspapers and radio commentators are in the vanguard of those who are rapidly convincing a majority of the American people that war is the only solution.

It is the press which has made popular a number of facile phrases to define the world situation: iron curtain, cold war, plans, doctrines, ideologies, communism and the like, sedulously avoiding use of the one phrase—power politics—which comes closest to describing what really is going on. Eddy Gilmore, head of the Associated Press European service, wrote from Moscow a fortnight ago that there is no comparable war fever there at all; but his dispatch was printed on inside pages if it was used at all. If Gilmore's

objective report had been the opposite, it would have been streamer headline news in every paper subscribing to the AP report. A great many of the attempts to pin any situation which we don't like on the Reds, either foreign or native, are reminiscent of the rantings of Hitler and Goebbels regarding conditions in Austria, the Sudetenland or Poland before the Nazis began their famous counter offensives with pursuits to rectify those situations.

The most frightening aspect of the tense international situation to me is the extent to which some people want to combat Russian communism by imitating the worst features here at home. I mean, of course, the really frightening attacks that have been made on our civil liberties. Nothing ever scared me more than the Hollywood broadcast of the Committee for the First Amendment after 26 motion picture stars returned from the Washington hearings of the House Committee on the un-American Activities. After they had dramatically reproduced what they had observed, the great Nobel prize-winning exile from Hitler's Germany—Thomas Mann—spoke briefly. In essence he said: "I have lived through this before. This is exactly how Hitler started."

In Philadelphia, Los Angeles and Evansville, Ind., there has been violence in attempts to break up meetings of liberals. College professors have been threatened and discharged because of their political beliefs. Meeting places have been denied such eminent Americans as Paul Robeson and in my state an American Legion post which protested one such denial had its charter rescinded by the state organization which is advocating a law to ferret out and burn dangerous books in libraries.

In its report, *To Secure These Rights*, the President's Committee on Civil Rights declared in part: ". . . public excitement about 'Communists' has gone far beyond the dictates of the 'good judgment' and 'calmness' of which Holmes and Brandeis spoke. A state of near-hysteria now threatens to inhibit the freedom of genuine democrats."

Chairman of the committee was Charles E. Wilson, president of General Electric company and not exactly a radical. In another part the same report declared:

"If we fall back upon hysteria and repression as our weapons against totalitarians, we will defeat ourselves. . . . Irresponsible opportunists who make it a practice to attack every person or group with whom they disagree as 'Communists' have thereby actually aided their supposed 'enemies'."

Despite this strong warning, according to O. John Rogge, former assistant attorney general, approximately 800 federal government employees have been discharged by loyalty boards. . . . All those who have sought relief in the courts have been able to obtain is the privilege of resigning rather than being fired. The full import of this highhandedness is to be found in the realization that it took centuries and centuries of constant struggle against tyranny to establish the basic principles of Anglo-Saxon law that an accused shall be considered innocent until proved guilty beyond a reasonable doubt; and that an accuser must face him whom he accuses in open court and make full statement of his charges. All of that now has been disregarded, and reliable reports are that Washington is permeated by a fear not much different from that which prevails in a police state.

I hold that the American press is falling down on its job lamentably by not combatting these anti-democratic trends at home; that, as a matter of fact, a large section of the press is aiding and abetting the hysteria. I hold it to be the responsibility of professors of journalism to point out the press' dangerous deficiencies in this respect. We certainly should not attempt to

indoctrinate our students, but we can and must make them cognizant of the situation: the news which the press does NOT print as well as analysis of what it does use.

It is important that we teach our students a great deal about public opinion and its formation, because throughout their careers they must analyze it, or at least understand it. They have got to know the social psychology of prejudice, stereotyping, scapegoating and other phases of public opinion, if for no other reason than to be able to evaluate a Frank Sinatra case, a gold fish swallowing marathon, a zoot suit or race riot which they may be required to cover. The orthodox public opinion polls do a good job of informing us what public opinion is, but what is important is why public opinion is what it is. We know from recent examples in other countries that it IS possible for 40 million Frenchmen, or 80 million Germans, or, potentially, 140 million Americans to be wrong. We know that an entire nation, or a large portion of it, can change its mind. Newspapermen to perform their social functions properly must be scholars in this field.

My hat is off to Harvard University for its Nieman fellowships, offering advanced education to rank and file practicing newspapermen; and to Columbia University for its American Press institute which brings together managing editors, city editors and specialists of all kinds to discuss their problems and to listen to outstanding authorities in their fields. Nobody as yet, however, has been able to establish anything approximating a school of journalism for publishers. Whoever succeeds in doing so will have made the greatest contribution of all, because we can stuff our students full of erudition and idealism which will go for nought if vetoed from on high when the time comes to utilize it.

One important fact about public opinion with which we all must contend is the ignorance and/or indifference of a majority of readers. A virtue you must cultivate is that of humility, not just so as not to be overly impressed by your own power for good or evil; but to have a proper evaluation of just what you are able to accomplish.

Well, you can criticize a newspaper for its handling of any or all of these stories (Atlantic Charter, full employment bill, the so-called Marshall plan); you can condemn its editorial attitude; but nobody can say that the press has neglected any of these stories (public opinion polls showed ignorance of). The newspaper competes not only with other media of communication for attention but also with media of entertainment and with turbulent life in general. This problem certainly is one worthy of research, including that which a school of journalism should be expected to conduct in the public interest.

It is the overall influence of the press which should be the primary concern of all of us. Even though ignorance of important political issues remains great, despite adequate press attention to them; and despite any amount of public carping, it is true that the newspaper is the principal source of information for most Americans and consequently one of the most important influences on our life. Journalism students must be made aware of the role of the American newspaper as a social institution, to regard it with the detached view of a social scientist, to see it approximately as the historian or anthropologist of 3000, 4000 or 5000 will see it. The future of western civilization depends upon man's ability to view the problems of his time with such perspective.

APPENDIX 4

U.S., NAZIS, AND WORLD WAR III BY DREW PEARSON

(NOTE: Several important columns written by Drew Pearson were suppressed by suggestion of his editors, the Bell Syndicate, and "at the insistence of J. P. Morgan & Co., and the Chase Bank," according to Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, who inserted the whole series in the Congressional Record, May 1, 1945, from which the most important parts are given below.)

"San Francisco, April 25—It is no exaggeration to say that the seeds of the next war will be nourished or rooted up at San Francisco. . . .

"Actually the seeds have already been planted but the roots are not deep and they can be torn up. . . .

"Already certain groups inside the State Department and the British Foreign Office have begun jockeying to build up Germany after the war as a bulwark against Russia. Already United States admirals have focused the attention of the entire world on the island bases we are taking from Japan, so that Russia is becoming suspicious they will be aimed against her. . . .

"Already there is evidence that the brass hats in at least two countries, plus certain diplomats, are getting nervous trigger fingers. . . . Finally Admiral Ernest King, commander of the fleet, took things into his own hands and made a public statement against the President's [FDR's] policy regarding Pacific islands. In other words he went over the head of his C-in-C. . . .

"The Russians, whose intelligence is the best in the world, already knew that Admiral King is the man who has wanted to build up a big navy now as protection against Russia later. They also knew that Admiral King has opposed Russia coming into the war against Japan, and wants the U.S. to do the job alone. (Eisenhower and Marshall do not side with King.) . . ."

"San Francisco, April 26—For a long time it has been no secret that a group inside the State Department favored a soft peace for Germany with a view to making her a bulwark against Russia after the war. But as long as Roosevelt was in the White House, the State Department appeasers kept quiet.

"However, on the day after his body was buried, a meeting of the German Reparations Committee was held in the office of Assistant Secretary Will Clayton at which both the State and War Departments suddenly reversed Roosevelt's policy of a hard peace.

"Specifically, they argued against the removal of Nazi factories, machine tools, plant equipment, or goods out of Germany. The Russians had proposed the removal of German war plants to build up the hundreds of Russian

factories destroyed by Germany. . . . Clayton argued that American policy should favor leaving factory equipment and machinery in Germany so she can get back on a sound economic basis. He even mentioned the fact that Germany would need to import cotton to manufacture clothes. . . . Clayton is the biggest cotton exporter in the world and did a heavy business with the Nazis before the war.

"Unfortunately, the Russians are all too familiar with the attitude of the State and War Departments toward them. . . . The Russians cannot forget, among other things, the strategy of the Cliveden Set in England, with which Churchill was once sympathetic, to stir up war between Germany and Russia while England sat on the sidelines. The Russians also know all too well the type of anti-Russian conversation that goes on at the home of Mrs. Evelyn Walsh 'Hope Diamond' McLean, when she entertains the elite of Washington society at her famous dinners at what is sometimes called the headquarters of the American Cliveden Set.

"The Russians knew in advance, for instance, that the Douglas Aircraft Co. had sold the plans for its DC-4 to Japan for \$1,000,000 before Pearl Harbor.

"And they have been especially interested in the War Department survey of the damage done to German war plants by U. S. planes, a survey to be undertaken by a group of bankers and top insurance executives, including Henry C. Alexander, vice-president of J. P. Morgan; Fred Searles, Jr., president of several J. P. Morgan mine companies; Franklin D'Olier, president of the Prudential Life Insurance Co. [one of the corporation heads who founded and subsidized the American Legion in 1919]; and Robert P. Russell, president of Standard Oil Development Co.

"Considering the manner in which Standard Oil of N. J. collaborated with Hitler's cartels even after the war broke in Europe, and considering how the J. P. Morgan branch bank in Paris collaborated with the Nazis even after Pearl Harbor, you can't blame the Russians for wondering whether this survey actually isn't for the purpose of getting a line on German industry and building it up after the war.

"Already the State Department is being bombarded by American industrialists who owned factories in Germany before the war and want to go back and start operating them. Among the leading pressure boys is Graeme Howard, vice-president of General Motors in charge of operations in Europe (Germany). Howard helped organize Franco's truck transport service during the Spanish Civil War, has a personal interest in the Opel Auto Works in Germany, and has been busy as a hound dog around the State Department wanting to get back to Germany.

"Naturally, they can't have a hard peace if they are to build up Germany, so they don't want German factories and machine tools carted off to Russia.

"Another factor making the Russians suspicious is the British demand that food which the Russian Army finds in Germany be used to feed the German people rather than to feed the starving Poles and Russian slave laborers. Shortly before he left London, both Foreign Minister Eden and Sir James Grigg, British War Minister, took the position, in secret talks with United States officials, that food found in Germany must be used to feed the German, not Polish and Russian civilians. The British argument is that if German food is diverted to the Poles and Russians, the Allies will have to import more to feed the Germans.

"Finally, the Russians are probably most suspicious of the mysterious U.S. espionage organization called OSS. The OSS or Office of Strategic Services has, strangely, distributed some of the most powerful bankers' representatives

in the United States of America at key points where they can influence U.S. policy in occupied Germany.

"The roster of OSS men who have been or are operating in Europe reads like a bluestocking list of the first 60 families. It includes: Paul Mellon, son of Andrew Mellon; Junius and Henry Morgan of the House of Morgan; Alfred duPont; Lester Armour of the Chicago Armours; Gordon Auchincloss; John Auchincloss; Warwick Potter; Harold Coolidge; William Van Allen of the Astor family; and Allen Dulles, attorney for various international bankers with previous connections in Germany. [Note: The Dulles law firm, of which John Foster Dulles, one of the main consultants of the reactionary or Vandenberg wing of the U.S. delegation at San Francisco, is the head, is the attorney of its American Schroeder bank affiliated with the British Schroeders, which had business connections with the Nazi Schroeders. All are relatives.]

"Some of these may not deserve the suspicion focused upon them. But others more than make up for it. And anyone listening for 30 minutes to their conversation about the next war and building up Germany as a partner in that war, can understand why the Russians wrongly accuse us of a deal to permit the American Army to enter Berlin first.

"This is the kind of underlying suspicion which must be killed immediately and permanently if the machinery of San Francisco is to bring about permanent peace."

"San Francisco, April 27—When the American Army swept into Germany it was fortunate enough to capture an interesting figure in Dr. H. J. Caesar, the counterpart of our Alien Property Custodian, who had charge of all American banks and alien property seized in France.

"Dr. Caesar was cross-examined at length. From him came highly enlightening and hitherto secret information about the manner in which certain British and American branch banks in Paris collaborated with the Germans after the fall of France. His testimony highlights the main issue underlying the problem of future peace—namely, whether, despite all the plans worked out at San Francisco, certain Allied business firms together with their friends in the State Department, the Army and the British Foreign Office are going to maneuver behind the scenes to strengthen Germany once again as a bulwark against Russia.

"This largely lies at the root of the ticklish Polish question. Russia wants a Poland which will cooperate with her and be a buffer against another German invasion. . . . Before Poland was invaded last time it will be remembered that British business interests were quite willing, even apparently anxious, to have the Sudetenland taken away from Czechoslovakia. . . .

"Finally, it was American and British banks which poured money into Germany for years before the war and then maneuvered to have reparations and war debts cancelled in order to protect their own loans. The Chase National Bank was one of the worst offenders. That is why a lot of people in Washington, Moscow, and the world at large are watching to see whether history will repeat. That is why the evidence unearthed from the secret files of German Alien Property Custodian Caesar is so significant. It indicates that even during the present war, the Paris branches of Chase and J. P. Morgan were quite willing and anxious to do business with the Germans—though British banks were more so.

"Dr. Caesar testified that 'the protection afforded to Chase was justified on the ground that it had been active on behalf of Germany before the war in such matters as the German stand-still credit negotiations.'

"'The British banks' he said 'were even more preferred by the Germans

than the branches of Chase and Morgans. The German occupying authorities decreed that British and Canadian banks in the occupied zone of France "shall no longer be considered as enemy banks." These branches provided long term credits to assist the German war machine. . . .'

"But especially significant were some of the letters found in Dr. Caesar's files. One indicated that the J. P. Morgan Co. had gone out of its way to curry favor with the Nazis by showing that the Morgans had nothing to do with Jews. One memo sent to German banking tsar Caesar by Mr. Lecestre, a high official of the Morgan firm, read: 'On the attached sheet there is represented some information relative to the predecessors of Mr. J. P. Morgan, actual head of J. P. Morgan & Co., Inc., New York. Following the tradition of his father, Mr. Morgan never admitted Jews as associates or fellow workers.

" 'The Morgan House has been frequently found in its business in opposition to the great Jewish banking houses in the United States such as Kuhn, Loeb & Co. As to Morgan et Cie, Paris, the personnel, since the foundation of the bank in 1868, has never included a Jew.'

"This memo is dated January 15, 1943, more than a year after Germany declared war on the U.S. . . ."

APPENDIX 5

TITO SPEAKS ON WAR, PEACE, RUSSIA

"I would be very glad," he said to me, "to talk about the economic and cultural progress of my country—of the 5-year-plan—of our progress. . . ."

But everything—economics, culture, progress—depends today on one and only one thing, I interrupted. Is it war or peace?

Marshal Tito's greenish-blue eyes hardened, and the smile which almost continually brightens his hard and magnificent face, vanished.

"In my opinion, it is not war," he said weighing each word, not saying it was peace.

After a second or two of silence, he continued:

"To make war you must have men who want war. Men, not people. People never want war—they are frequently led into war. The people of America I am sure do not want war. Nor do the people of the Soviet Union want war. Nor do we want war. But there must be Americans who do want war. America is making the greatest preparations for war in all history. The danger of war exists, of course. The great danger is a provocation. Some great provocation. Our side is not preparing for war. In my opinion there will be no war now unless it is provoked. We know the reasons for war. We know the reasons for aggression, for expansion, for markets, colonies, for domination. But on our side there can be no reason for a new war." (And with great emphasis, each word clearly): "WE HAVE NO CAUSE FOR WAR. WE HAVE GOT WHAT WE WANT. WE HAVE FREEDOM."

The calm interview came to this climax with great passion and gesture. Then Marshal Tito was silent.

The interview so far had been in German. This was by accident. It had been arranged for English, and Srdja Pricha of the Yugoslav Foreign Office was to be the translator, but inasmuch as I knew the Marshal spoke German, but neither French nor English, I had said on shaking hands with him the conventional German words of greeting: "*Es freut mich sehr.*" So the first part of the hour and 20 minute interview at least was between us two, in German.

More than a hundred journalists attending the Danube Conference in August had tried by every means known to the profession to get an interview with Marshal Tito. I tried also. We were all to be disappointed.

However, when the United Nations convened in Paris I applied again to the officials in charge of the press department. So did scores of others. The Marshal agreed to receive me and Mrs. Seldes and we made the special trip to Belgrade for the interview.

No list of questions was asked for, as has been the case in past years. I wanted to speak to the Marshal on war and peace; on fascism in Europe; on Europe going Left or Right; on his present relations to Soviet Russia; and of course on the planned economics of Yugoslavia and other countries of the new Peoples Democracies and how they would affect the fate of Europe and eventually of all the world.

At the first moment I had a sinking spell. It was when Marshal Tito suggested we limit the interview entirely to the last of my five chief subjects.

But from the second he said "In my opinion, it is not war" I sat silent, almost breathless, hoping he would say more on the one subject which is foremost in the minds and hearts of most of the peoples of the world.

The Marshal spoke in short clipped sentences—and neither his nor my German was perfect, as both of us groped for words, the Marshal resorting to Croatian, I resorting to English, and Mr. Pricha supplying us both.

"WE," continued Marshal Tito, emphasizing the word, "need peace and time to develop our land and our culture: to make use of what we won by war: to make use of our liberty. On our side there can be no reason for war because there is no possible objective to achieve. I repeat: we do not want war because we do not need war: we have all we need: we have liberty."

(The Marshal used the German word *Freiheit* which I believe translates both as freedom and liberty, and I have therefore translated it both ways.)

"Your PEOPLE in America do not want war either," he continued. But there are persons in America who do want war. That is apparent.

"Why do some people in America want war? Why are there war scares in America? Why is there such great war hysteria in America?"

The Marshal shot the questions at me one at a time, stopping long enough between each to make its weight felt, not long enough to permit me to reply. I am sure he did not expect me to answer.

"I ask these questions of everyone," Marshal Tito continued. "I do not get a clear reply. Since I am convinced that the American people no more want war than any other people in the world, I have to regard the great war production and armament program of the United States as the preparations for war by those leaders of your country who do want war."

For the next several minutes the Marshal, Mr. Pricha, Mrs. Seldes and myself offered explanations of the present war hysteria in America—as contrasted to an almost total lack of war talk in both Western and Eastern Europe. I mentioned of course the most obvious of all: the fear in America that the Soviet Union would attack us and the fear that Communism would spread in Europe. The Marshal dismissed completely any suggestion of attack from that side.

Over the Marshal's desk the head of Lenin in colors, four or five times natural size, looked down with frowning eyes. (Stalin's picture, a life-size head, hangs in another part of the study.) Obviously any suggestion that I might make was not in the Marxist-Lenin-Stalin line and therefore unworthy of consideration.

Marshal Tito could see nothing but aggressive preparation on the Western side, a search for Allies, an alignment of nations for war. He had even heard of the American commission of officers which has established headquarters in London for the purpose of arranging for the calibration of all army rifles of western Europe, and of all canons on land and sea. The Marshall Plan was another weapon in making allies for the next war.

"And how can America talk about a war," Marshal Tito asked, "when

the mass of people of its supposed allies—the people of Britain, of France and of Italy, and other people—not only do not want war, but will not fight in that war?”

I did not of course answer that question, but asked: Is it your opinion that the western zone of Germany is also being readied for incorporation into the Western Bloc?

“That is too apparent,” replied the Marshal. “This is one of the great dangers of our time. The Western Allies have not dismantled the German industrial plants capable of being converted into war plants. You make concessions to the worst elements among the Germans. You are obviously counting on your part of Germany as an ally along with Britain, France, Italy and the small nations.”

At this point I mentioned the danger of Naziism—which U.S. Army polls show exists throughout Germany—and I requested an opinion by the Marshal on a previous statement of his. The Marshal evidently did not hear me or misunderstood me. This is what I read him from one of his older public statements:

“Today the international reaction headed by American financial magnates is once again starting its old experiment. Once again, ruthlessly, by every means at its disposal, it is endeavoring to revive fascism in various countries including Western Germany. . .”

“Who said that?” exclaimed the Marshal with considerable excitement and interest.

“This is from one of your public addresses. Yours,” I replied. “It continues: “. . . it is endeavoring to revive fascism in various countries including Western Germany. It is trying once again to create hotbeds of aggression. For the second time it is attempting to make of fascism a mailed fist for the realization of its imperialist aims. But we believe, despite the fact that fascism in America itself is gaining more and more ground, that international reaction this time too will be defeated.”

I paused and did not repeat my question. The Marshal answered it, however:

“This statement is from an address I made about a year and a half ago. You want to know if I stand by it today or want to revise it? My only comment is this: today the situation is worse than it was 18 months ago.”

Then you think the danger of fascism is increasing? I asked.

“Throughout the world, No,” replied Marshal Tito. “In the new Europe fascism is dead, I can assure you.”

He laughed and his greenish-blue eyes twinkled happily.

“In the East fascism is dead,” he continued. “We have no more danger of fascism, never will have any danger of fascism in Yugoslavia, and all the other nations of the East, the nations which have established peoples’ democracies.

“There is danger, some danger of fascism in Italy and France. But all of Europe is on the Socialist path.

“There is real danger of fascism in America. Because there is so much reaction in your country. Fascism is the armed reaction used to strike at Socialism; the arm against the working men and women in every country.”

The laughter, the smile, the twinkling eyes of the statement that fascism was dead in Yugoslavia were gone. The Marshal spoke with bitterness, passionate bitterness. Of the 1,750,000 Yugoslavs who were killed during the war more than a third the number were murdered by the German fascists and the native fascists, the Ustashis.

To Marshal Tito, the former metal worker in an assembly plant of electric machines, the former trade union local secretary and labor union organizer, and the man who commanded the Partisans in the uprising against the enemy, fascism even today is a living menace. Even today the Marshal signs documents—as do many many others—with this phrase just over his signature:

"SMRT FASIZMU—SLOBODA NARODU"

(Death to fascism—Liberty for the people.)

It is not an idle phrase. To Marshal Tito, to the Yugoslav people, to most European peoples who have suffered under Hitler and Mussolini, under Horthy of Hungary and Metaxas of Greece, fascism means much more than it does to any American, although he may have fought in the great war to destroy that ideology. And fascism is still a living danger to a large part of the world. Marshal Tito in public addresses in the past year has emphasized this fact.

Marshal Tito had mentioned the Soviet Union several times. On one of my five sheets, which I had written as a sort of aide memoire on separate subjects, but not a questionnaire, I had noted the present conflict between the Yugoslav regime and the Communist Information Bureau, now better known as the Cominform. I did not know how to introduce this subject diplomatically. (A correspondent from a daily newspaper would of course not hesitate in this matter, or any other delicate matter, just as a police reporter would never hesitate to invade the privacy of anyone, living or dead.)

When we had finished with the question of war and peace and with the question of a fascist revival, or death in the world, I began questioning the Marshal on the subject on which he himself preferred to speak: the progress of Yugoslavia. He mentioned the difficulties of producing consumer goods, heavy machinery, electrification, the raising of the standard of living; the difficulties put in the way of his nation's progress.

"But we have partially solved the problem despite handicaps," he said with earnestness. "America—and other countries—did not want to export machines which would help our economy. We are now building our own machines—not all, but some. We are on our way to overcome the difficulty.

"But the rumors in the foreign press that Yugoslavia will go to one side or the other as a result of this situation is real nonsense."

A significant pause.

"Let there be no misunderstanding about these words 'one camp or another, one side or another'" Marshal Tito continued in German, cutting each word clean so that I should not possibly misunderstand. "We are staying in this camp. No matter what happens.

"This is not a matter of a choice for us. We are of this camp. We are in the socialist camp; we are part of the camp of the peoples' democracies.

"No matter what happens in the whole world, we remain in this camp."

Marshal Tito made no further references in this long interview of the conflict between the Cominform and his country and the rumors that he might swing Yugoslavia towards the West. I thought he had said the final word, and pressed the subject no further.

APPENDIX 6

RAKOSI SPEAKS ON TITO, RUSSIA, THE U.S.

The time was 10.30 in the morning, the place Akademia ut 17, the office of Matyas Rakosi, the most important man in Hungary, and I was perhaps three minutes early. I sat in the waiting room for about one minute. From the adjoining room a very short, heavy person in a blue suit, blue shirt and blue tie—three shades of blue—emerged, passed by, went out. Four minutes later I was taken to Mr. Rakosi's office, and for want of a better opening I said I had recognized him as he went by because I had seen his picture everywhere.

"Yes," replied Mr. Rakosi, "a strange world; thousands of people somehow are putting up my photograph!"

And so the interview opened on a note of humor, reminding me at once of a phrase I had read decades ago. In *Under Western Eyes*, I believe, Joseph Conrad has a Russian character, Razumov, say that "women, children and revolutionaries have no sense of humor," whereas I had found that the very greatest leaders I had met, beginning in 1922 with Lenin, had a tremendous sense of humor. Rakosi certainly was not the exception.

However, he also had a tremendous and emotional sense of revolutionary seriousness, as I was to find out immediately.

The opening formalities of an interview are usually the same, usually the small talk of travel. Have you been here long? Do you know our country? How do you like Budapest? From where are you coming? We disposed of them in short order. That is, all but the last question. At my mention of Belgrade, the Deputy Prime Minister's eyes lit up as one transformed.

"Ah, Mr. Seldes," he said with a sudden passion, "you have just come from Belgrade. You have seen for yourself. You can be a witness of the truth. The Cominform is right, and Tito is wrong!"

Before I could recover from this sudden change and this sudden charge, Mr. Rakosi continued vehemently:

"The shops are empty in Belgrade. There is a serious lack of consumer goods. On the other hand, the peasants have plenty of money, but there is nothing for them to buy.

"There are no open markets, as there are here in Budapest. The peasants are not bringing in enough food, because there are not enough goods for them to buy.

"Therefore, it is obvious that the Tito agrarian reform has not worked out; and the Cominform's strictures are correct."

This was only a beginning. It continued in a torrent. The Cominform *vs.*

Tito: the charges, the situation in Yugoslavia, the situation as I must have seen and noted it, the contrast with the situation in Hungary. . . .

I had been told I could see Mr. Rakosi for an hour. I did not mind the first five minutes, the first ten minutes of this vast explanation of the Cominform-Tito dispute, but when a quarter of an hour had gone, and eighteen minutes, and twenty minutes, I became fearful that I would never have the interview I wanted.

Fortunately, at the first possible moment, when Mr. Rakosi again spoke of the better situation in Hungary, I was able to interrupt him and say: "Yes, it is about Hungary that I would like you to talk. I am not a communist, and I really do not know very much about the Cominform case against Tito, nor who is right according to Marx, but I would like very much to ask you some questions about your own country."

Mr. Rakosi recoiled. In his Marxian enthusiasm he had forgotten probably that a foreigner and a non-communist would not be so completely involved as he was in this most important rift in Eastern European affairs since the end of the Second World War; but he suddenly smiled as if to excuse himself, then laughed, and said he would talk to me on the things I was interested in: what were they especially?

I want to see if the nations behind what Goebbels first called the Iron Curtain are progressing, I replied; I want to contrast the lives of the people on both sides, East and West, and to contrast the situation now with what it was before the war, and to describe the various 2 and 3 and 5-year plans.

Mr. Rakosi pondered a few seconds. "We are making progress," he finally said, "despite the fact that at every step in our hard road we are hindered by the United States. . . ."

Hungary, of course, was not one of the Marshall Plan nations, but how did America hinder?

"For example, you know that the Nazis stripped our factories of most of their machinery and took it to Germany—all that they could not destroy here. We were desperate for machinery. And we knew where most of it was: in the American zone in Germany.

"We have asked for it, time and again. But the United States refuses to return our machinery. It is of no use as reparations. It is of no use to anyone but us. But it lies there, out in the open, in the American zone in Germany, rusting away.

"For your country it is only scrap iron. For my country it would be a better living for tens of thousands, perhaps for the millions. Why don't you return our machinery? It is because you want to harm us—to prevent our progress. So you let it rust, and each year it becomes more worthless. You wage an economic war against us.

"You must also know that the United States took our finest horses. You took our stud stallions. We were desperate for horses, but the U.S., which does not need them, refused to return them. Why? Because you want to harm us, to check our progress.

"Everywhere, at all times, America does what it can to hurt us, while it aids the Western nations.

"But, despite all, we have recovered. We have grown strong materially despite the Marshall Plan and despite the harm the United States has done us. Our people know. They won't forget.

"And your Voice of America, meanwhile, spreads such stupid, reactionary broadcasts, such falsehood about us every day. Do you think you make friends with the Voice of America? You make enemies.

"When Reynaud told the French people: 'We are at the mercy of the Americans,' I repeated this to meetings of our workingmen. I told them that nevertheless we shall start up our factories, repair what ruined machinery we have found, get some more from our Eastern neighbors, and begin the reconstruction of our nation without the Marshall Plan—and the Marshall plot which even the French admit puts a country at the mercy of another country.

"I say, let any objective man or woman come to Hungary and see what we have done and what we are doing.

"We are not afraid of any honest man.

"We have no iron curtain."

But, I insisted, you might have done better had you accepted the aid of America.

A hard look came into the deputy premier's eyes. He spoke in capital letters, in headlines:

"We could not have done better with Marshall.

"We could have used a loan for reconstruction. We can use a loan now, for reconstruction. Our country, as you have seen, is still full of ruins. Factories, homes, machinery—there are many ruins. A loan, yes. But a system of aid which would in any way impair the independence we have won, NO!" A tremendous NO.

His mind leaped back to the statement he had made about letting anyone come to Hungary to see what was being done. After the pause which followed his emphasis on Marshall, he continued on the first subject.

"This is not a police state. The press which says it is, lies. There is no terror here. Anyone who says there is, lies. We do not even control the roads. We have no police to control citizens' documents (passports, identity cards, etc.). And neither do we have in Hungary the equivalent of the American red hunts, the American red scares, or your form of terrorism."

As I wrote rapidly, trying to keep up with one impassioned statement after another, he noticed this, and remained silent a while. Then he also noticed that on my first sheet I had written out a few questions with which to guide myself during the interview. He asked what they were. I replied that he had answered No. 1—Reconstruction without Marshall—before I had asked it. The remaining five were: The next 5-year plan, or can the East surpass the West; the next war, and the present war scares; the No. 1 enemy of Hungary, the Cardinal; the attack by the Western and American press on Hungary; and the world swing, Left or Right.

"The East can surpass the West, will eventually," he replied. "That is, certain countries compared to certain countries. Our athletes, we are a little country and our sportsmen are not subsidized, went West and came out third in the Olympic Games. They won 9 firsts.

"Your John Gunther writes in *Inside U.S.A.* that you surpass the world in schools but still have 14% illiterates. We have only 6%.

"You have the best hospitals in the world, but 40% of your people could not pass the health tests for the Army. Our people are healthier than yours.

"In certain material things, the United States surpasses the world.

"But do you know what throughout history has been your greatest asset, the greatest source of your success, the real reason for the greatness of America?

"In the last century you imported 40,000,000 persons from Europe. This has been the most precious importation you have ever made. Even if you figure the material wealth, the worth to the nation, of each of these immi-

grants at the minimum figure of \$2,000 each, then you have imported a value of \$80,000,000,000. And it has not cost you a cent.

"Eighty billion dollars! And it has brought you interest at a terrific rate of increase."

Again his mind leaped back to a previous topic.

"The material comforts of the U. S. lead the world. But the standard of living is a relative matter. In my view your materialistic leadership is not a raised standard of living, nor is it a cultural standard of living."

And then the Marshall Plan again. "The day will come," said Mr. Rakosi, when your business men will realize that this Plan is not only cutting off your nose to spite your face, but it is cutting your own throat. You are closing the avenues of trade, instead of opening them. As for European nations, it is hurting factory production, causing unemployment.

"The Marshall Plan hands a rope to a man who that morning has been sentenced to be hanged."

But what I wanted the Hungarian leader to talk about was the next war.

"We never talk of war," he replied quietly. "You know of course that Hungary has no army—12,000 men are allowed us—and no war materials, no war factories. We make no war preparations, we devote the energy of the people to reconstruction. . . .

"If the United States wages war with the nations of the Left it will not be as easy as it was for you in the First World War or even in the Second. . . . In the end—there can be only one end—in the end every capitalist nation will disappear from the face of the world.

"I say this because I know that ideas cannot be conquered by bayonets."

The "war" talk in Hungary at the time was the war between Church and State. Although little had been said about it in the American press—this was before the arrest of the Cardinal—it was the event which was making the news in Budapest.

"The Roman Catholic Church here," said Mr. Rakosi, "is not only a reactionary force, but it was the owner of more than 1,000,000 acres of land.

"We took it away.

"We gave this million acres to tens of thousands of poor landless farmers.

"Thus, by one stroke the Church lost its political and economic influence, because landowning in Hungary is both a political and economic factor.

"This Church had 100,000 serfs.

"These 100,000 miserable human beings, hardly better off than slaves, worked for the bishops on the church lands.

"We freed the serfs. We gave them the land.

"The Church remains the only reactionary force in this country. The Roman Catholic Church everywhere has been and is on the side of reaction. Today the situation is worse than ever. However, it is also true that most Catholic nations have gone bankrupt: France, Spain . . . and other Catholic countries, and notably Poland and Hungary have stopped being Catholic nations and paying the Vatican.

"The power of the Vatican rests largely on one solvent nation with a large Catholic population, the United States. It is your Cardinal Spellman who is the man with the money. And money talks, even in Rome.

"Incidentally, we know of course that there are always American priests disguised as civilians arriving here and bringing money in large amounts and ostensibly for 'good works' which is given to the Cardinal for reactionary political propaganda purposes. We know who they are, when they come and go, what funds they bring. But we do nothing—so far. I wonder

what your government would do if Hungarian agents came and went with money for one of your political parties?

"I say that Spellman dictates the reactionary policy of Rome, and Rome dictates the reactionary policy of the Church in Hungary, so that in a direct way the American Catholics are paying for Hungarian reaction right now."

This was the only reference to Cardinal Mindszenty. The man I was interviewing is known as the most powerful personality in the nation, but many think the Cardinal is the most powerful. One thing all agree on: it is a great duel, Rakosi vs. Mindszenty, the State vs. the Church, Left vs. Right, the newest forces in Europe vs. the oldest.

Unfortunately the telephone rang and ended the Vatican chapter. It was not the first interruption, and on each occasion the Vice Prime Minister spoke in another language. I had been told he spoke some twenty languages and remarked on it.

"There was a time I had nothing else to do but learn languages," Mr. Rakosi replied, obviously a reference to the fifteen years he had been imprisoned by the fascist regime.

There wasn't anything more to ask. Mr. Rakosi had already answered my last question, the direction of the post bellum world. I mentioned my interview with Konni Zilliacus at the outset of my trip to Europe. Concluding the subject of war, peace, fascism, and other trends, Zilliacus had said: "It is too early for war; it is too late for reaction." Zilliacus had told me I would find all of Continental Europe was decidedly Left, was going Left—not necessarily Socialist or Communist, but decidedly Leftward.

"To that I agree," said Mr. Rakosi. "And why not? The Left is the best organized, the most efficient, and it has the most intelligent leaders in all countries, notably in France and Italy. The Left knows what is what, where it is going, where the whole world is going.

"All that the Right has got is the army, the church, the money, the political apparatus by which it rules. When a people becomes enlightened it goes Left. Today, in Europe at least, the people of all lands are enlightened, and they are on the Left.

"In every nation where there was a resistance movement against the Nazis it was led by the Left. We communists claim a large part of this credit. But there were others—but all of the Left.

"After the war the Left gave the peoples of Europe leadership. You can check this move to the Left with your money and your Marshall Plan. But not forever, not for long."

(Again the Marshall Plan.)

"All this rubbish about the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan helps Europe as the rope helps the man condemned to be hanged," he repeated.

As for the world going Right or Left, this was his conclusion:

"I am afraid we shall see all of Asia, and probably a large part of Africa going Left before we shall see America going Left."

This was said with laughter and good humor.

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